FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-89-016
Thursday
26 January 1989

Daily Report
East Europe

FBIS-EEU-89-016 *26 January 1989*

CONTENTS

ARMS CONTROL & DISARMAMENT

Polish UN Envoy Presides Over Weapons Debate *[PAP]* 1
Hungary's Varkonyi Addresses Vienna Conference *[MAGYAR HIRLAP 19 Jan]* 1

ALBANIA

Gjyzari Comments on Consumer Goods Supply *[ZERI I POPULLIT 17 Jan]* 4

BULGARIA

Mitterrand Comments on Human Rights in Sofia *[Paris Radio]* 6
Journalist Tambuev Discusses Glasnost in Press *[Paris LE MONDE 20 Jan]* 6
Lukanov Departs for Moscow CEMA Meeting *[Sofia Radio]* 7
Customs Official Explains New Regulations *[TRUD 13 Jan]* 7

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

4 'Dissidents' Jailed for 16 Jan Protest Freed *[AFP]* 9
Background of Prague Demonstrators Noted *[RUDE PRAVO 23 Jan]* 9
Letter to Editor on Protests *[RUDE PRAVO 23 Jan]* 9
Press Answers Questions on Demonstrations *[CTK]* 9
Foiled Palach Demonstration in Vsetaty Noted *[RUDE PRAVO 23 Jan]* 10
Jakes Chairs National Front Presidium Meeting *[Prague Radio]* 11
Soviet Military Delegation on Official Visit 11
Lizichev, Delegation Arrive *[CTK]* 11
Jakes Receives Lizichev *[Prague Radio]* 11
Visit to Military School *[Prague Radio]* 12
USSR Deputy Foreign Minister Aboymov Arrives *[CTK]* 12
Meets With Johanes *[CTK]* 12
Adamec To Visit Iran at Musavi's Invitation *[CTK]* 12
Urbanek Returns From USSR Visit 20 Jan *[RUDE PRAVO 21 Jan]* 12
Urban Returns From Havana CEMA Meeting *[RUDE PRAVO 20 Jan]* 12
Results of Vienna CSCE Meeting Applauded *[RUDE PRAVO 21 Jan]* 12

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Chemical Warfare Production, Exports Reported *[DER SPIEGEL 23 Jan]* 14
Kessler Says NPA Supports Military Reductions *[East Berlin Radio]* 15
Honecker Receives Pact Commander Kulikov *[ADN]* 15
Honecker Congratulates Bush on Inauguration *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 21-22 Jan]* 16
Honecker, Stoph Send Condolences to Poland *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 23 Jan]* 16
Health Minister Resigns; Replacement Named *[ADN]* 17
Human Rights Publication Reappears After Year *[Hamburg DPA]* 17
1989 Foreign Trade Protocol Signed With PRC *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 20 Jan]* 17
Leaders' Public Appearances for 12-18 Jan *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND]* 17

HUNGARY

Karpati Receives Pact Chief of Staff Gribkov *[MTI]* 18
Details USSR Troop Withdrawal *[MTI]* 18
Government Denies Sending Message to Ceaucescu *[AFP]* 18
Commentary Praises Conclusion of CSCE Talks *[Kanyo in NEPSZABADSAG 21 Jan]* 18
Rezso Nyers on Reforms, Ties With Italy *[Rome AVANTI! 15-16 Jan]* 20

SZOT Issues Stand on Recent Price Increases *[NEPSZAVA 14 Jan]* 21
Editorial Views Introduction of Price Increases *[Matko in MAGYAR HIRLAP 9 Jan]* 23
MSZMP Spokesman Discusses Party, Pluralism *[Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH 13-15 Jan]* 24
Other Parties Want MSZMP To Repay Funds *[Budapest Radio]* 26
PPF Congress To Reevaluate Front's Role *[Budapest TV]* 26
Glasnost Club Organizes Monitoring Committee *[MTI]* 26
Growing E. European Ties With S. Korea Noted *[Budapest Radio]* 27

POLAND

PZPR 10th Plenum Resolution Outlined *[TRYBUNA LUDU 21-22 Jan]* 28
Leaders Deliver Speeches at Plenum, Offer Views 31
Miller Gives Address *[TRYBUNA LUDU 18 Jan]* 31
Miller Views 10th Plenum *[Warsaw Radio]* 32
Miodowicz Makes Speech *[TRYBUNA LUDU 17 Jan]* 34
Gorywoda Speaks *[TRYBUNA LUDU 17 Jan]* 35
PAP Cites Other Speakers 36
Walesa Arrives in Warsaw for Government Talks *[AFP]* 41
Walesa's Citizen's Committee Not 'Shadow Cabinet' *[PAP]* 41
Walesa Speaks on Need for Economic Program *[PAP]* 41
Orzechowski Speaks at Gdansk Lenin Shipyard *[Warsaw TV]* 42
Ministry Spokesman Says Priest Not Murdered *[AFP]* 46
Rakowski Makes Official Visit to West Germany 46
Departure for FRG Reported *[PAP]* 46
Kohl Receives Rakowski *[PAP]* 46
Rakowski Activities Noted *[PAP]* 47
FRG TV Interviews Rakowski *[PAP]* 47
Rakowski Meets Industrialists *[PAP]* 47
Economics Discussed *[Cologne TV]* 48
Rakowski Comments on Talks *[Warsaw Radio]* 49
Further Reportage *[cross-reference]* 49
Rakowski Toasts Iran's Premier Musavi *[TRYBUNA LUDU 19 Jan]* 49
Musavi Delivers Speech at Warsaw Dinner *[TRYBUNA LUDU 19 Jan]* 51

ROMANIA

Ceausescu Receives Gorbachev Birthday Message *[AGERPRES]* 52
Daily Comments on Party's Leading Role *[SCINTEIA 19 Jan]* 52

YUGOSLAVIA

LCY Presidium Prepares for Session 30 Jan *[TANJUG]* 57
Reasons for LCY Plenum Postponement Explored *[Frelih on Ljubljana Radio]* 57
BORBA Breakdown on Vote for FEC President *[21-22 Jan]* 57
BORBA Praises New Premier Markovic *[TANJUG]* 58
Former FEC President Mikulic Criticized *[Vukovic in BORBA 14-15 Jan]* 58
FEC Discusses Domestic Debt Situation *[TANJUG]* 59
Croatian LC Central Committee Plenum Detailed *[TANJUG]* 60
Stojcevic Speech Detailed *[BORBA 25 Jan]* 63
Protest Meeting in Plav Attracts Crowd 65
Police Intervene *[Zagreb Radio]* 65
Further Reportage *[Belgrade Radio]* 65
Protest Ends *[TANJUG]* 65
BORBA Examines Developments in Montenegro *[Curuvija, 14-15 Jan]* 66
Trade Union Federation Discusses Montenegro *[TANJUG]* 67
Serbian LC Expanded Presidium Holds Session *[TANJUG]* 67
Serbian, Vojvodinan LC Stances Outlined *[BORBA 11 Jan]* 70
Prijepolje Workers Protest; Urge Resignations *[TANJUG]* 71
Leaders Resign *[TANJUG]* 71
Grocka Leadership Resigns After Protest Rally *[TANJUG]* 72
Slogans at Titograd Protest Gathering Listed *[POLITIKA 12 Jan]* 72

Kosovo Nominatees New Presidency President *[TANJUG]* 72
Kosovo Provision on Flags Questioned *[TANJUG]* 73
More on Association for Return of Kosovo Serbs *[RILINDJA 17 Jan]* 73
Kumanovo Demonstrator Gets 5-Year Prison Term *[BORBA 9 Jan]* 74
Bosnia-Hercegovina Names Presidency Candidates *[TANJUG]* 74
Slovene Trade Unions Consider Leaving SAWP *[Belgrade Radio]* 74
U.S. Attorney Defends Diplomat Bijedic *[BORBA 13 Jan]* 74
Kadijevic, Armed Forces Delegation Visit Italy 75
Depart 17 Jan *[TANJUG]* 75
Begin Talks *[TANJUG]* 75
FRG Against Introducing Visas for Yugoslavs *[POLITIKA 10 Jan]* 75
National Industrial Production Falls *[POLITIKA 9 Jan]* 75

Polish UN Envoy Presides Over Weapons Debate

LD1801120689 Warsaw PAP in English 0207 GMT 18 Jan 89

[Text] Geneva, Jan. 17—The committee for chemical weapons acting within the frame of the disarmament conference of 40 states began debates in Geneva today. The debates are presided over by Ambassador Bogumil Sujka, Poland's permanent representative to the U.N. European bureau in Geneva.

During a meeting with the press, Sujka stated that if there is a political will then one can also resolve complicated disarmament issues and the Paris conference has shown that such a will exists. Sujka also drew attention to that point of the Paris conference declaration which speaks about the need for the most expeditious solution of problems which still remain to be regulated with a view to finally elaborating a convention on a ban on chemical weapons.

Hungary's Varkonyi Addresses Vienna Conference

LD1801183189 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 19 Jan 89 p 1, 2

[MTI-attributed speech by Foreign Minister Peter Varkonyi at the CSCE conference in Vienna on 18 January, under the headline: "The Hungarian Foreign Minister's Speech at the Vienna Closing Conference—The Existence of Military Blocs Contradicts the Requirements of All-European Development."]

[Text] Mr President! Your Excellencies!

Let me first convey greetings from the government and the public of Hungary to all participants at this meeting. I would like to extend our thanks to the Government of the Republic of Austria and the citizens of Vienna for their hospitality and the excellent conditions they have provided for our deliberations. Let me also thank the staff of the Executive Secretariat for their devoted work throughout the Vienna meeting.

It is a particular pleasure for me to note that contacts and cooperation between Austria and Hungary for the success of the Vienna follow-up meeting has become a valuable part of our traditional goodneighborly relations. For us, this time again, it has borne out convincingly the importance of bilateral relations in the implementation of the Helsinki Final Act.

More than 2 years ago, at the opening session of the meeting, I expressed the hope and expectation that Vienna become a milestone in the evaluation of the CSCE process and this follow-up meeting result in improving qualitatively the conditions for security and cooperation in Europe.

Has the Vienna meeting lived up to our expectations? The answer is definitely in the affirmative.

The successful outcome has been greatly facilitated by the favorable shift on the international scene. During the past 2 years, a new trend in international relations has gathered momentum and become a determinant factor. It implies a growing awareness of the interdependence and mutual interests of states and peoples. The increasing recognition of shared responsibility has set in motion the process of nuclear disarmament and of seeking negotiated solutions for regional hotbeds of crises. The priority of universal human values and the need to build interstate relations freed from ideological biases are becoming new standards in international politics. The feindbild [German: hostile image] based on cold war reflexes is on the wane. The policy of openness and the mutual search for cooperation patterns has had a favorable impact on the fabric of interstate relations, particularly in Europe.

The power of a shared interest in developing all-European cooperation is convincingly demonstrated by the success of the 35 participants in elaborating a substantive agreement. It was done by strenuous efforts and by bringing often diametrically opposed positions closer together. The Vienna final document will enable us to make balanced progress in the implementation of the Helsinki Final Act in all walks of cooperation.

I wish to express our sincere appreciation to the neutral and nonaligned states as well as to the coordinators of negotiations for their efforts in elaborating the final document and in facilitating the successful outcome of the meetings.

The Vienna agreement is, in our view, the most important document of the CSCE process since the signature of the Helsinki Final Act. It is a means of bringing about a real qualitative breakthrough in the Helsinki process. The document reflects the positive changes that have taken place in Europe since the Madrid meeting, and launches a long-term program of dynamic action on both national and all-European levels.

It indicates a new approach that the Vienna final document lays emphasis on practical measures and the precise formulation of commitments and guarantees for their implementation. The document properly implies the demand of the participating states to keep under review one another's compliance with obligations. This is supported by the mechanisms created for verification of implementation, in addition to the security aspects, in the field of human rights and humanitarian commitments as well. I would reconfirm that the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic has the resolute intention of implementing all stipulations of the Vienna final document, and expects all other participating states to do the same.

As one of the major results of the Vienna meeting, the issues of the human dimension have become an area of real cooperation and specific commitments for the participating states. The tone of confrontations has abated,

and recriminations have been progressively replaced by a meaningful dialogue even on delicate details of human rights and humanitarian issues. A more balanced perception has developed on civil and political as well as on social, economic, and cultural rights.

It is a favorable new development that a certain convergence could be observed in the positions of states belonging to different groups. The need to identify common interests has weakened the "bloc approach" which characterized the previous follow-up meetings. A number of proposals were co-sponsored by members of different groups of countries. It has also been realized that the implementation of CSCE commitments is a responsibility of all participating states, irrespective of their social system or alliance affiliation.

Progress has also been made in bringing the principles of sovereignty and non-interference into line with the current requirements and future needs of all-European cooperation. The idea that justified critical observations on failing implementation can be rejected, and compliance with obligations evaded, under the pretext of non-interference, has been isolated. The Vienna meeting has reaffirmed that compliance with agreed commitments cannot be an exclusively internal matter for participants. Domestic laws must not be at variance with the international obligations of states.

Similarly, the approach which demands implementation from other countries, but ignores implementation by one's own, have proved an unfeasible way for the future.

The agreement on the launching of parallel talks within the framework of the CSCE process on the reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe and on confidence- and security-building measures is a result of outstanding importance for the future of all-European security and cooperation. These decisions are a reflection of the fact that conventional disarmament, strengthening confidence in connection with the military aspects of security, and a substantial reduction in the current high level of military confrontation has become a central task in Europe. The existence of oversized opposing military forces with offensive capabilities are inconsistent with the requirements of the new stage in the CSCE process.

Setting into motion the process of radical cuts in armed forces and armaments in Europe by eliminating the existing asymmetries and the capabilities of launching surprise attacks and large-scale offensives, and by elaborating reliable measures for verification, is a highly important task of the conventional disarmament talks. It is a fundamental security and political interest of all European states that the process of disarmament, begun with disarmament steps by the Warsaw Pact and NATO member states, should, at a later stage, be extended to embrace all participating states.

I wish to reaffirm that the Hungarian People's Republic has a vested interest in the success of conventional disarmament talks. We intend to actively contribute to the progress of those talks, to be held in the spirit of the documents accepted in the course of the CSCE process. The recent agreements on arms limitation and confidence-building support our hope that we will achieve genuine results by the next CSCE follow-up meeting, making full use of the advantages stemming from the CSCE framework of talks, without curbing their autonomy.

Our political and economic interests make it necessary, and our geostrategic situation makes it possible, for the first stage of arms reductions to extend to forces in Hungary. This endeavor of ours is in full compliance with the standpoint evolved in the Warsaw Pact and all-European interests. This is proven by the announcement at the UN Organization by Mikhail Gorbachev on the major unilateral reduction in Soviet troops stationed in Eastern Europe, which was welcomed and supported by the Hungarian side. The unilateral move by the Soviet Union justified our frequently repeated standpoint on the necessity for unilateral measures, their value and impulse, and their favorable political effect.

Given the positive experience with the implementation of the Stockholm document, Hungary attaches paramount importance to the negotiations on confidence- and security-building measures. The extension of the scope of existing measures and the elaboration of a new generation of confidence- and security-building measures would further increase confidence between states as well as the openness and transparency in the military domain. It would also supplement and facilitate progress in talks on conventional disarmament in Europe.

The Vienna final document addresses the issues of human rights and humanitarian contacts in accordance with the important role these questions play in improving cooperation and confidence among states. The document reflects the increased importance of this set of questions by substantially extending the scope of human rights and humanitarian obligations. Our approaches to these issues have come closer to one another. As a sign of this, the Vienna final document has widened the fields of cooperation stipulated in the final act by a mechanism of consultations and verification in the field of the human dimension. This is proof of the capability of the CSCE process to adapt itself to new international needs.

You are well aware that the Hungarian Government devotes particular attention to guaranteeing the individual and collective rights of national minorities. We are satisfied to note that this issue is coming more and more into the focus of European politics. The governments, public opinion, legislatures, and social organizations of participating states are following with greater attention the problems of national minorities. They are raising their voices against measures infringing on these rights.

The Vienna final document stipulates the duty of the participating states to guarantee the human rights and fundamental freedoms of persons belonging to national minorities. Progress is represented by the document in extending the nationality rights to the fields of human contacts and information. At the same time, I do not conceal that we hoped to achieve even more in this issue of particular importance to us, among other things, in the recognition of collective rights of national minorities. I am convinced that the future development of the CSCE process will open up possibilities in this regard.

As host of the cultural forum, we considered it a privilege to draw upon the results of the Budapest deliberations and to follow up on the worthwhile ideas and concepts formulated at the forum. Development of cultural cooperation in Europe and enrichment of the relevant chapter of the final document have always been a matter of priority for Hungary. We believe our efforts have also contributed to strengthening the cultural identity of Europe and increasing the confidence-building role of cultural exchanges and cooperation.

The recommendations of the final document on economic and trade relations, as well as scientific-technological and environmental cooperation, go beyond the relevant provisions of the Madrid final document in several respects. However, our cooperation could and should be widened in several fields. We think that the difference of economic systems and methods of economic management should encourage the exploration of untapped opportunities in an all-European framework. I would add that an economically sound Europe is in full compliance and indispensable for the security interests of all countries of Europe. Joint action in the economic field should be parallel and serve humanitarian cooperation, and by doing so contribute to strengthening the integrity of the CSCE process.

The Vienna final document provides a varied program, unprecedented in the CSCE process, for the period up to the next follow-up meeting to be held in Helsinki. The meetings and conferences of experts provide an appropriate framework for the fullest possible implementation of the accords reached at Vienna.

The participating states should hold bilateral and multilateral consultations before the events so as to find a new more efficient role in the CSCE process. There are many areas that have not yet been explored or which require further steps, for instance education and science. We must pay attention to these areas, and to other partial fields of action as well, which could further enrich the scale of our CSCE endeavors.

The profound economic and political reforms underway in Hungary, including the modernization of political institutions and the extension of democratic and human rights, and the establishment of a broad scale of constitutional and legal guarantees are in full accordance with the spirit and substance of the final document we are now adopting. I am convinced that the measures we will take to implement the Vienna final document will promote the implementation of our economic and social aims.

We are now entering a promising stage of development in all-European relations. Interstate cooperation has been intensified and given more substance. Relations between CEMA and the EEC have been institutionalized. Dialogue between the Warsaw Pact and NATO member states is under way. Cooperation in Europe has been developing in various regional and sub-regional forms. Parallel to the processes of integration, there is a revival of development based on the distinctive features and national or ethnic identities of different regions. I am convinced that, among the mutually complementary forms and trends of European cooperation, the CSCE process continues to play a unique and indispensable role, serving as an overall framework and acting as a catalyst.

The process of cooperation set in motion by the Helsinki Final Act is an important means of building our common European home. Beyond the governments, the organizations and associations representing the general public and the individuals who are prepared to foster the CSCE ideals should also be become involved in this "building activity."

The ultimate objective of this process could be our common future, the establishment of a Europe, unified in its endeavors and values and free of divisions, which makes a stimulative effect with its multiformity.

The Vienna meeting marks the beginning of a new stage in this process. Making full use of the opportunities provided by the Vienna final document, we have a shared interest and possibility to turn the European dream into reality.

Thank You, Mr President!

Gjyzari Comments on Consumer Goods Supply

AU2401180789 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 17 Jan 89 p 3

[Article by Niko Gjyzari, chairman of the State Planning Commission: "Raising the People's Prosperity—The Party's Highest Goal"]

[Text] The socialist construction of our country is an indisputable proof of the great care of the party and the people's power for steadily and surely increasing working people's material and cultural prosperity. Everything we produce and create is done in the name of, and for the sake of, the working people, correctly harmonizing the prosperity of the people with a stronger economy and the defense capacities of the nation, the needs of the present with those of the future, and the development of the towns with that of the countryside, while also guaranteeing the social equality that has been achieved and rooting it more deeply.

Our economy's dynamic development, securing expanded reproduction for ever greater demands for mass consumption, has been an epoch-making victory that has been ensuring material and cultural prosperity for all the working people. In the years of the people's power, the social product and the national income have grown between two and four times faster than the population. As a result, Albania, which no more than half a century ago could not even supply corn for a population of less than a million, now guarantees the necessary food for a population three times greater, and with higher expectations. As Comrade Ramiz Alia has emphasized, this sums up the country's emergence from pauperism into prosperity, and constitutes one of the pillars of the country's economic and political independence. Consumption of staple goods has continually increased, not only in comparison with the preliberation era, but also with 10-15 years ago. In 1987-1988, the state retail sector supplied the people, on average per capita, with 56 percent more foodstuffs and 35 percent more consumer goods apart from food. Even under the conditions of the prolonged droughts and heat waves of recent years—which meant that some plan targets, especially in agriculture, did not rise—the market was stable, supplies to the people were not interrupted, and further growth was recorded. In comparison with 1980, there has been increased consumption per capita in towns and labor centers of many items such as eggs, fish, rice, shoes, socks, soap, and detergent. In 1988, compared with 1980, the population in towns and labor centers bought 39 percent more fats, 25 percent more sugar, 83 percent more eggs, 29 percent more rice, 60 percent more knitwear, 70 percent more furniture, and so forth. The increase in milk production of 35,000 tons in 1988, compared with 1987, was mainly a result of the peasantry's initiative to keep small herds at brigade-level and has helped meet their needs better.

Working people in our country consume a daily average of about 3,000 calories, which is the average level in many countries. Although there is room for structural improvement in the diet, because the larger part of this is gained from vegetable sources, this supply of calories is adequate for high productivity in physical and intellectual labor, bearing in mind the age structure of the population, which is dominated by younger age groups. The normal supply of the people and a guaranteed balanced diet has led to the total elimination in our country of diseases caused by malnutrition, and a marked improvement in the anthropometric data recorded among our people. Today, signs of the physical development of young people are observed one year earlier than 10 years ago. The average life expectancy is 71.6 years, compared with 64.9 in 1960 and 38.3 in 1938. In recent years, deaths per thousand inhabitants have been between 5.6 and 5.7 (among the lowest in Europe), while natality has been about 25 per thousand, which is higher than in other European countries.

In our country, the entire economic and social development of the nation ensures material and spiritual prosperity, the development of the personality, and the emancipation and happiness of everyone, relying solely on our own resources, without debts or credits from abroad. These things rely on the freedom to work for oneself, for one's family, and for the whole of society; free from every kind of oppression and exploitation. Labor is a source of inspiration and optimism for the whole of society and is the main way of increasing prosperity. The years of socialist construction in Albania have been years of epoch-making changes in employment. Work has been provided for everybody. Every year, an average of between 45,000 and 50,000 people enter employment, and every citizen in employment in the towns or labor centers supports 0.84 persons, in comparison with 1.52 persons in 1970 or 1.42 persons in the countryside, in comparison with 2 in 1970.

Society devotes large material and financial resources, in the form of basic investments, to the total use of labor resources. Creating a new job now costs about 100,000 leks, about twice as much as in the 1960's. It is also a major commitment on the part of society that, despite unstable trading conditions on the international market, crises, stagnation, and inflation in the capitalist economy, and the influence these things exert, the incomes of working people are not affected and prices do not rise; everything is met from the resources of socialist accumulation. Because of higher import prices of many foodstuffs and industrial items, keeping domestic retail prices stable has affected the income in the state budget in recent years to the tune of 450 million leks. This, and a policy of relatively low prices for bread and foodstuffs, children's clothing and school supplies, symbolic rents that amount to no more than the earnings of between 2 and 3 days labor, and so forth, are great victories for the working people, guaranteeing material prosperity, especially for the broad mass of working people on an average wage.

The achievements in increasing the prosperity of our working masses, despite the occasional shortcomings observable as a result of failures to fulfill the tasks of the plan in agriculture, the food industry, and light industry, become particularly significant when we consider that in recent years economic crises, chronic unemployment, inflation, and rising prices have further deepened class polarization in capitalist and revisionist countries. On one hand, the profits of the great business centers and the financial oligarchy have risen, and on the other hand, life has become more expensive for the broad working masses.

Of course, achievements in increasing prosperity are significant when compared with a few years ago. However, the party instructs us to meet the growing needs of the working people in the towns and the countryside. It is a positive fact that raising the material and cultural living standards of the people becomes an incentive for further increases in production and presents new demands for the material and intellectual goods that enrich people's lives. This is part of the dialectic of development, but at the same time increases the tasks of state and economic bodies in meeting these demands as well as possible.

The per capita production of staple, common consumer goods has been increasing from year-to-year and from one 5-year period to another. In comparison with 1980, the per capita production of cheese has risen by 16 percent, of eggs by 37 percent, of knitwear by 3 percent, of beer by 40 percent, and of furniture and common glass consumer goods by 16 percent. Such imported consumer goods as sugar, fats, textiles, and so forth have also increased in quantity. Alongside this, people's demands for foodstuffs and consumer goods have risen not only in the towns but also in the countryside, in the highlands as on the plains. Moreover, our peasant, as a result of major economic, cultural, and social changes, has become a consumer not only of food but of many industrial products, just like the townsman. He is now asking not only for more salt, kerosene, and cooking oil, but for various kinds of textiles, radios and televisions, refrigerators and other appliances, as well as more vegetables, beans, potatoes, milk, meat, eggs, and so forth. In this sphere, the consumption of foodstuffs and consumer goods, whether produced by our industry and agriculture or imported, is, as a result of social equality, not very different from one social group or family to another. From this point of view, consumption serves as a stimulus for production, but, although production is continually increasing, it has not yet reached the desired level in quantity, and especially in quality. As a result, the supply of the market with some common consumer goods has not always been satisfactory. Eliminating these shortcomings calls for better labor in meeting plan targets regularly, improved care in managing production, increasing the social productivity of labor, and tightening the savings regimen everywhere and in everything. As Comrade Ramiz Alia has stressed, we must only consider the state of the market to be healthy "when the people find and buy the quantities of milk and eggs, fruit and vegetables, fats, meat, and fish that meet their basic needs and cover their spending power for these items."

Of course, increasing the material prosperity and cultural level of the people depends on the fulfillment of production plans, on construction, and on sociocultural sectors. Living standards today and in the future are a result of the general growth of the economy and culture, agricultural and industrial progress, the technical-scientific revolution, improving economic relations, and the dynamic development of material production and the service and sociocultural sectors. Demands for more and better supplies set tasks for everybody to shoulder a greater commitment to more fruitful labor, and to produce more at lower costs. This is vitally important, for all of us are both consumers and producers and we cannot make some demands when we are consumers and different ones when we are producers. Thus, increasing the people's prosperity involves labor from everybody, on all fronts, in carrying out the tasks of the plans.

Mitterrand Comments on Human Rights in Sofia

LD1801225689 Paris Domestic Service in French 2100 GMT 18 Jan 89

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] This evening during the official dinner in Sofia, Francois Mitterrand made a speech centered on human rights. Here is an extract recorded by our special correspondent, Fabrice le Quintrec:

[Begin Mitterrand recording] It is true that the centenary of the death of Victor Hugo is marked with a fervor which honors us. I also (?call) on you to commemorate just as worthily the bicentenary of the French Revolution and the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen, the principles of which found substantial response in Bulgaria, in particular during the struggles for independence: national sovereignty, representative democracy, separation of powers, freedom, and respect for the individual. These values have lost none of their relevance. If only it could be understood in the East as in the West that this heritage forms an inseparable block, and that no one can extract according to his own designs what suits his ideas and reject what is troublesome without profoundly distorting the spirit of the revolution. [end recording]

Journalist Tambuev Discusses Glasnost in Press

PM2401105689 Paris LE MONDE in French 20 Jan 89 p 3

[Sylvie Kauffmann dispatch: "The Tambuev Case or the Dangerous Exercise of Glasnost"]

[Text] Sofia—One day in the fall of 1986, Georgi Tambuev, a journalist with TRUD, one of the big Bulgarian dailies—which is also the trade union organ—received an anonymous letter denouncing numerous irregularities and instances of misappropriation committed by the state prosecutor in Etropole, a small city, and by his family. "The situation described seemed so incredible that at first I did not believe it," he recalled. "I almost threw away the letter."

Tambuev, a party member, was then 53 years old and had a desire to apply the wind of glasnost blowing in Moscow to the Bulgarian press. He had just published an article on an economic scandal which caused rather a stir.

It so happened that a little later, Tambuev decided to check one of the first accusations made against the prosecutor in the anonymous letter through the university records. The prosecutor had been declared a war orphan through an illegal adoption and was therefore able to enter the law faculty without passing any examination—a privilege reserved for war orphans.

The university archives not only confirmed this fact but revealed others which attracted the journalist's curiosity. "I therefore began to place more trust in the letter," he said. "At the same time, I realized that I was dealing with the state prosecutor's department." Tambuev and his editorial board therefore decided to be on the defensive as much as possible, and ensured that he was accompanied during his inquiry by representatives of the various official bodies concerned. Bulgarian Deputy Chief Prosecutor Muletarov appointed Petur Ivanov, an inspector from the state prosecutor's department, to assist him in his investigations into the strictly professional activities of Etropole prosecutor Grigor Mikhaylov. It was with this inspector that Tambuev experienced his first problems, because Ivanov tried to protect his colleague and tried to compromise Tambuev with a young woman, but she fled at the last minute.

The Etropole investigation appeared in TRUD in the form of a series of four articles entitled "Corruption under the Government's Cloak," from 4 through 7 June 1987. Prosecutor Mikhaylov was then fired. Tambuev became a hero and the newspaper was inundated with reader's letters. "The Etropole party secretary came to see us, he congratulated us, he criticized himself, and told us that he was preparing to expel the prosecutor from the party, as well as the members of his family who were involved," Tambuev said. The militia informed the journalist that a police investigation was to be carried out into the prosecutor's misappropriation of funds, and the investigation would be headed by Colonel Tsankova, who struck Tambuev as "an obstinate woman."

"I thought the matter was settled," Tambuev said. "I was then hired by party newspaper RABOTNICHESKO DELO as head of department and member of the editorial committee." In that post he continued in the same vein: "I was convinced that I was working for restructuring in Bulgaria."

It was then that Kiril Nestorov, deputy chairman of the party Central Control-Auditing Commission, contacted him in July 1987. After a "pleasant" conversation about the Etropole case, he asked Tambuev to come back and see him after the vacation. He was summoned again in September, and this time the meeting was attended by Mr Ugrilov and Mr Milev, two other commission members. The tone changed: Those party officials accused Tambuev of having forced the Central Committee to abandon the use of some privileges which are "necessary," and of insinuating that the government in Bulgaria is corrupt.

Milev had before him the four TRUD articles carefully underlined. "You make 59 accusations against important Bulgarian organs," he told him before mentioning a current prosecution. When he left the meeting, Tambuev phoned Col Tsankova. "I have been taken off the case," she told him, "because I am obstinate."

Tambuev was to have further meetings with this "working group" from the control commission. He admitted just one mistake in his papers: having given the title of dean of the law faculty to a man who did not hold

that position when the events took place. "The nightmare began then," he recalled. He was criticized for his insolent, aggressive behavior. "I regarded that as a compliment."

On 28 December 1987, a session of the control commission brought together the main protagonists. "I regarded it as a fight for the truth. I spoke for more than 90 minutes," he said. "The former Etropole party secretary—he had meanwhile been fired, and in this case around 100 people were punished to varying degrees—backed me up. His successor said that public opinion in Etropole supported the publication of my articles. TRUD Chief Editor Damyan Obreykov then made a magnificent speech saying that he could be regarded as co-author." The session, which opened at 0900 hours ended at 1500 hours. "A decision was promised for 1700 hours, and then it was postponed. I thought that the matter was being debated."

On 2 February 1988, there was a second session. Meanwhile, the party's national conference had been held in January. There had also been an action for libel taken by Mikhaylov, who began to feel that he had support. But the Etropole court confirmed the authenticity of the documents used by Tambuev. He reported on the results of the trial to the control commission. The chairman of the commission retorted: "Comrade Tambuev, have you heard of the Dreyfus affair?" "Yes," he replied. "Well, do you know that all French people stood up to defend him, but he was nonetheless sentenced to death?" "I know that this version of the Dreyfus affair is inaccurate," Tambuev now says. "But at that time, I realized that a decision had already been made about me elsewhere." They suggested that he criticize himself. He refused.

He was summoned again on 7 March. The control commission officials told Tambuev that he had been expelled from the party and fired from his job on RABOTNICHESKO DELO. The reason given was that the accusations made in his articles were unfounded. "I felt as if a column of tanks had driven over my nerves," he said. "But I controlled myself, I did not want to give them the pleasure of seeing me suffer. They told me with fake compassion that I was a talented journalist and that they would find me work. I replied that I had experience in bricklaying and would find work in the construction trade. The deputy chairman was furious, he told me that that would be regarded as a provocation and I could have much more serious problems."

The party then began to hold meetings to portray Tambuev as a "black sheep." The verdict, announced on television by the chairman of the commission, produced a strong reaction among journalists—TRUD's chief editor was fired—and caused ferment among the Etropole population. Veterans mobilized, there were slogans, "Corruption in the government" covered the walls, hundreds of letters were sent, and a petition was circulated. Proceedings against Tambuev in Sofia were stopped because the inhabitants of Etropole decided to hire buses to go there. "Of course, none of that was published; glasnost does not cover that," Tambuev said.

Georgi Tambuev is now a broken man, but he refuses to resign himself completely. He has a wrestler's build, blond hair surrounds a determined face, and he is an editor on POGLED, the Journalists Union weekly which is now regarded as one of the boldest newspapers. "Until 1 January I was incapable of writing a single line. I am the most junior editor here, I receive a much lower salary," Tambuev added. He then set to work again, proposing a regular rubric entitled: "The paradoxes of bureaucracy," which is already a topic of discussion in Sofia. "I am sure that the rubric will be stopped, but I will continue for as long as I can," he said, "after which I will disappear again."

Five days after Tambuev's expulsion from the party, the Moscow daily SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA for 13 March 1988 published the famous letter from Nina Andreyeva, which was regarded as the conservatives' manifesto against glasnost. Tambuev did not rule out the possibility that when the BCP leadership gave its verdict on 7 March, it already knew that glasnost was experiencing difficulties in the USSR.

Almost 1 year later, the Tambuev case still troubles the conscience of more than one Bulgarian journalist. "The fire is still smoldering under the ashes," Tambuev said, showing optimism despite everything: "Glasnost will eventually succeed, because people here understand Russian and read the Soviet press."

Lukanov Departs for Moscow CEMA Meeting

AU2201204389 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 22 Jan 89

[Text] On 22 January Andrey Lukanov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo, minister of foreign economic relations, and chairman of the CEMA Executive Committee, departed for Moscow, where he will take part in the regular meeting of the committee.

Customs Official Explains New Regulations

AU1701151689 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 13 Jan 89 p 3

[Interview with Nikolay Nikolov, head of the "Customs" Department under the Ministry of Economy and Planning, by Plamen Kamenov: "What Should We Know About the New Customs Regulations?"; place, date not given]

[Excerpts] [Kamenov] By the end of 1988 several socialist countries, beginning with the USSR, followed by the GDR, Poland, and the USSR, established customs limitations for the export of several of their goods. We in Bulgaria, introduced new customs regulations, as well....

[Nikolov] Yes, it became necessary to adopt measures for the protection of certain goods which were subjected to intensive export activity: This applies to meat and meat products; milk and milk products; beans and lentils; flour and semolina; sugar; olive oil and other vegetable oils, as well as imported foodstuffs and spices, including coffee and cocoa; baby food; rice; and ground red pepper; cereals and cereal products, as well all types of canned food belong to this category. There is also a ban on the export of certain nonedible consumer goods, such as clothing and footwear. [passage omitted] The same applies to cultural assets (such as works of art, coins, and so on).

[Kamenov] Are these bans absolute?

[Nikolov] No, as for foodstuffs, it is permitted to export ready-made food for consumption during the trip—and the greater the distance, the more food a traveler may take with him. [passage omitted]

In addition, the banned goods may be exported by foreigners free of customs duties, provided the goods have been purchased by these foreigners with convertible currency at the special shops or at other stores with half of the leva amount obtained in exchange for convertible currency at the Bulgarian National Bank or in tourist offices.

[Kamenov] Can you tell us how much customs duty is payable on foodstuffs and consumer goods permitted to be exported?

[Nikolov] Customs duties amounting to 300 percent of the value have been fixed for fat, margerine, fish and fish products, fresh and canned fruit and vegetables, as well as for crystal products, cutlery, and color television sets. Customs duties amounting to 200 percent of the value have been fixed for drillers, burnishers, and all kinds of sewing machines, for bicycles, scooters, and motorcycles, as well as for photographic equipment. All other goods, in reasonable quantities, may be exported at a rate of 20 percent customs duties.

[Kamenov] Since we are closing our borders to numerous goods, what is the situation in respect to imports of goods to our country?

[Nikolov] There are 22 varieties of goods that are subjected to customs duties when imported into our country, but only two of these categories are charged with 60 percent duties. This applies to liquid-fuel operated stoves, heating installations and equipment, oil derivatives, equipment for gas-operated motor vehicles, cabs, engines, and engine blocks for motor vehicles imported from nonsocialist countries. The other 20 categories of goods are subjected to 10 percent customs duties and include video equipment; audio and stereo equipment; trucks up to 3.5 tonnes; tractors of the type up to 1.4 [not further specified]; equipment and installations for checking, repairing, and maintaining automobiles; self-propelled agricultural equipment and trailers; confectionary equipment; coffee machines; metal and wood processing machines; and so forth. [passage omitted]

[Kamenov] Can you point out goods which are exempt from customs duties?

[Nikolov] Yes, all goods except the aforementioned 22 categories are exempt. Naturally, this refers to goods imported within the limits of personal and family needs. Every traveler is entitled to import three television sets, three refrigerators, three freezers, three personal computers, and the same amount of men's suits and women's fur coats. These rights in respect to duty-free imports also apply to furniture; construction materials; radiators; musical instruments; tape recorders; radio receivers; record players; and others. Goods of lesser value and in reasonable quantities, not intended for sale, are also exempt from customs duties. The right to import goods for personal and family needs without paying customs duties also applies to receiving international postal parcels. [passage omitted]

[Kamenov] Last, but not least, which goods are absolutely banned from being exported from and imported to our country?

[Nikolov] This applies to firearms and cold steel weapons; combat equipment; ammunition; explosives; incendiary and poisonous substances; drugs and devices for their use; and objects threatening the security of our state, public order, and the physical and moral health of our citizens. (This ban excludes the import of printed matter and publications containing religious and other ideological content that is not in contradiction with our national law and with the international commitments assumed by the People's Republic of Bulgaria).

[Kamenov] I hope that after we have published this interview, the number of citizens "bombarding" the officials of the Customs Administration with their questions will diminish.

[Nikolov] Let us hope so!

4 'Dissidents' Jailed for 16 Jan Protest Freed

AU2601082389 Paris AFP in English
0335 GMT 26 Jan 89

[Text] Prague, Jan 26 (AFP)—Four leading Czechoslovak dissidents jailed on January 16 at a demonstration to mark the 20th anniversary of student Jan Palach's self-immolation were freed by a court Wednesday, their friends said.

They are two spokesmen for the human rights group Charter 77, Saša Vondra and Dana Nemcova, as well as Mrs. Nemcova's son David Nemec and Petr Placak, founder of the Children of Bohemia dissident group.

A Charter 77 spokesman said the court had cast doubt on the public disturbance charges, which carried two-year jail sentences.

He said three people were still being held as a result of the tribute to Mr. Palach, whose human torch suicide was in protest at the Warsaw Pact intervention in Czechoslovakia in 1968.

Background of Prague Demonstrators Noted

AU2501114989 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
23 Jan 89 p 2

[Jaroslav Kojzar report: "One Who Also Had Something To Say"]

[Text] Prague, Wenceslas Square, 19 Jan—Thursday [19 January], shortly after 1700. A man steps in front of the assembled people, who are chanting various slogans, and reads some sort of an appeal. It is noisy. Not everyone around him can hear: Socialism is finished; one must establish a period of freedom, a system of pluralism.... Several other self-appointed speakers also speak in the same vein.

One of them was Frantisek Melichar, 68, an old-age pensioner from Prague's Fifth District. What do we know about him? At the end of the forties he worked as a manager of the Ultraphon sales outlet in Teplice. In the 2d half of 1950, he allowed himself to be recruited by a coworker who was a member of a Western intelligence service; he was listed on the payroll under the cover name of Junak. His task was to establish dead drops and to supply reports to the espionage center. During its existence, the group of which he became a member supplied a quantity of espionage information. For this activity—as he later admitted after being arrested—they received considerable financial remuneration.

When arrested, the individual members of the group were in possession of reports that had not yet then been sent, and some even had weapons—for example, Frantisek Melichar had a Sauer 7.65-mm pistol, No 197086, with 95 rounds of ammunition. As for the reason for his activity, he stated that it was hostility toward our security bodies....

Having served his sentence, he returned to civilian life. Not long afterwards, in 1968, he again engaged in antisocialist activity. As an "unjustly sentenced" prisoner, as he claimed, he enrolled in a counterrevolutionary organization known as K (Club) 231, and he became one of the members of its organizational center. Let us briefly recount what this "club" strove for: a counterrevolutionary coup, the establishment of a government of "white terror." This was also Frantisek Melichar's political line.

He then pulled back into the background for some time... until, apparently, he again smelled his opportunity.... Therefore, he, too, appeared in that anonymous "crowd" in Wenceslas Square. However, Mr Melichar of the K-231 "society" is neither anonymous nor unaccountable.

Letter to Editor on Protests

AU2501120389 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
23 Jan 89 p 2

[Letter to the editor from Jiri Zedek, construction worker from Prague's District Two]

[Text] "I witnessed the disturbance in Wenceslas Square on Tuesday [17 January]. I was shocked by the rowdies who would like to be called demonstrators. But that they are not! I can demonstrate for something, but not for dubious slogans or symbols. However, it was the talk of the "nonparticipating" onlookers that was shocking. The younger ones made remarks such as: Those are fine guys; they are not afraid of the cops; and so on. An older woman became angry and said: This is a state of emergency; they close off Wenceslas Square without taking people into consideration. She obviously did not realize that access to the square was restricted precisely because people were taken into consideration. But what gave me the greatest shock was a discussion of several men in blue overalls, who agreed to go and have a beer, because this was none of their business. Maybe the disturbance as such did not concern them, but the causes do. They concern all of us. Why? Why do fathers or mothers of even very young children ignore those various posters or slogans of Western idols? Why do we tolerate at the workplace drinking, slovenliness, and 'tough' language—often among apprentices? We must all sensibly and uncompromisingly attract the interest of the young generation at home, at school, and everywhere, so that the words freedom, democracy, and socialism will have the correct meaning."

Jiri Zedek, construction worker, Prague District Two

Press Answers Questions on Demonstrations

LD2601092889 Prague CTK in English
0800 GMT 26 Jan 89

[Text] Prague Jan 26 (CTK)—RUDE PRAVO today carried more answers to readers' questions concerning the activities of dissident groups in Czechoslovakia and their recent provocations.

The paper said that the actions of the law enforcement units of the national security forces during the events in Prague's Wenceslas Square last week were conducted by means fixed by law and with intensity commensurate to the situation. On all the days, the security force members tried to prevent the clashes by preventive appeals, explaining and persuading. Those who did not obey even repeated calls for dispersal and answered with whistling and chanted offences made it absolutely clear that they

would respect nothing and nobody and that they scorned state power, RUDE PRAVO stressed.

As far as participants in these events are concerned, they must be seen in various lights. Many people came from curiosity, the young considered their attendance rather as an opportunity to act up. Some people came because they are dissatisfied with one or another question of Czechoslovakia's internal or foreign policy but have nothing in common with groups standing outside the law. Others came to demonstrate their hostile attitude to the policy of the socialist state and its government, as well as to socialism in general.

These people, the paper stressed, are for return to before 1938, for revenge for the nationalization of the means of production, for Czechoslovakia's withdrawal from the Warsaw Treaty, against cooperation with the Soviet Union and for a change in Czechoslovakia's strategic orientation. It was usually these people who thought out the anti-government and anti-socialist slogans and set the tone to the chanting according to a scenario agreed upon by the organizers of the get-together from among the illegal groups beforehand, RUDE PRAVO wrote.

Answering a reader's question why he could not lay flowers to the grave of Jan Palach on January 21, RUDE PRAVO wrote: "Certainly it is not strange if someone goes to a cemetery to pay tribute to a dead person but only as long as he does not want to misuse his visit for a political provocation, in addition called by means of American radio stations".

The paper recalled that after three delegates of the so-called Charter 77 had threatened officials of the local national committee and the inhabitant of the house where Jan Palach lived, the national committee in Vsetaty asked the security force to take preemptive measures against participants in the unauthorized action.

RUDE PRAVO mentioned the presence of a large number of representatives of Western media and foreign diplomatic cars in Vsetaty. It denied the report of some news agencies that trains had not stopped in Vsetaty on that day and said this testified to the unreliability of their information.

Work at Czechoslovak universities and colleges is normal and no one set himself ablaze in Prague or elsewhere in Czechoslovakia, RUDE PRAVO said in answer to another question.

Its final answer gave details of the activity of the illegal group "Czech Children" and carried the introduction to its program.

Foiled Palach Demonstration in Vsetaty Noted

AU2501122289 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 23 Jan 89 p 1

[Report by Vlastimil Bradac and Jiri Janouskovec: "They Went Away Disappointed"]

[Text] Vsetaty (from our own correspondents)—On Saturday [21 January] afternoon initiators of provocative gatherings connected with the senseless tragedy of Jan Palach tried to organize further acts, this time at Vsetaty in the Melnik district. With the participation of representatives from embassies of several NATO countries (Canada, United States, Great Britain, and others), this was supposed to lead to some kind of protest assembly in the local cemetery, at the Palach family plot.

Several days beforehand, U.S. radio stations had urged participation in the event. Therefore, the council of the local national committee, in conformity with the opinion of citizens, requested the National Security Corps to take preventive measures to guarantee public order in the village. During Saturday roughly 200 people came to Vsetaty from various places. The instigators of the event did not succeed in their aims, and there was no disruption of order in the village.

We spoke directly with several of the participants on the spot. First and foremost, we were interested in why they had come to Vsetaty.

Simon H., an 18-year-old high school student from Prague: I am here by chance (?). My parents have gone to the mountains and so I came along simply to watch. Of course, I knew about the event beforehand.

Petr J., a 17-year-old technical college student from Prague: On Thursday [19 January] I was in Wenceslas Square where there were lots of cops. I found out about Vsetaty there. My friends and I decided that we would come and see. However, only from a distance. Therefore, we came from Neratovice on foot. It does not make sense that Palach killed himself. I think that this has been abused.

Vojtech M., a 17-year-old technical college student from Prague: I came to see if the police would intervene as in Prague. My parents don't know anything about this, and I told only my grandmother. I think that there ought to be more freedom here. For example, if I wanted to appear on television I would need to get permission (?).

Jiri K., a 35-year-old worker from Prague: I went to Tisice on an excursion with my son. The pub there was shut and we wanted to have lunch in Vsetaty. We set out along the railway track. I knew that something was going on, and it was even said that there will be tanks around.

Pavel L., a 17-year-old apprentice from Melnik: It's all the same to me what's happening here. I came out of curiosity.

Petr K., a 35-year-old engineer from Turnov: I came to lay a bunch of flowers. What's bad about that? Everyone has his own truth and ought to be able to express it publicly. I don't see anything evil in that.

Pavel S., an 18-year-old worker from Usti nad Labem: More of us came—just a group that gets together at the pub. We wanted to see it. The state ought to be more just. For example, when I work and someone else doesn't, he receives the same or even more than I do.

Rudolf M., a 25-year-old technical worker from Usti nad Labem: In my opinion, glasnost ought to relate to everything. In this country we have censorship; that's why I'm here to see what's going on. (Censorship was abolished in the CSSR in 1968—editor's note.).

Josef R., a 16-year-old apprentice from Usti nad Labem: I came to see my cousin. If my Dad finds out I'm here he'll kill me, because he says that only idiots go to such events.

More such people came to Vsetaty. The reasons for their journey and their opinions were the same. The majority of them were—as they maintain—in Vsetaty and at similar activities for the first time. They knew little about Palach or possesed distorted information. But after all, that suits the organizers, who wished to attract as many unsuspecting people as possible, just those people whose opinions could be passed off as the voice of the public. However, others came along: some of the organizers. A car belonging to the West German television station ARD brought one of them along personally. They walked away and drove away disappointed, everyone together.

As the West German press agency DPA claimed on Sunday [22 January], according to their information from "Charter" sources some kind of "protest march" from Loreto Square to Prague Castle also ought to have taken place. This "march foundered," intimated the agency. We verified this information in other places. The fact is that the "march" did not take place.

Jakes Chairs National Front Presidium Meeting

LD2401214489 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 24 Jan 89

[Text] Today the National Front Central Committee Presidium held a session in Prague. It was chaired by Milos Jakes, CPCZ Central Committee secretary general. Alena Muellerova reports:

[Begin Muellerova recording] The most important point on the agenda was the draft to improve the general election system and the possible adjustment of electoral laws. The participants discussed the possibility of temporarily separating the elections to the national committees from elections to the legislative bodies, and they considered the multimandate system in each district and the possibility of extending the right to propose National Front candidates to other organs, organizations, and perhaps labor collectives. They also discussed the proposal to lower the limit of passive election rights for elections to the national committees to 18 years and discussed the possibility of deepening the democratic nature of the preparation of elections, as well as the actual election act, and increasing its social significance. The aim of the discussed amendments is the democratization of legislation completely in harmony with the gradual restructuring of our political and social life. Prior to their adoption, the principles of the new election laws will be submitted for public discussion.

In the next part of the deliberations, the National Front Central Committee discussed the results of a public opinion poll which confirmed the significant role of the National Front in the current period. It discussed the plan of its work for the 1st half of the current year and a report on the creation and use of the united fund for Armenia.

At the conclusion of the deliberations, the Presidium members discussed the instances of the disruptions of public order which occurred recently on Wenceslas Square in Prague. This misuse of the anniversary of the senseless suicide of Jan Palach for antisocialist demonstrations was unanimously condemned. [end recording]

Soviet Military Delegation on Official Visit

Lizichev, Delegation Arrive

LD2301161189 Prague CTK in English 1508 GMT 23 Jan 89

[Text] Prague Jan 23 (CTK)—A delegation of the Main Political Administration of the Soviet Army and Navy, headed by its chief, Army General Aleksey Lizichev, arrived for an official visit to Czechoslovakia today at the invitation of the Czechoslovak defence minister and the chief of the Main Political Administration of the Czechoslovak People's Army.

The Soviet delegation was welcomed at Prague airport by chief Jaroslav Klicha and other leading representatives of the Czechoslovak Army Main Political Administration. Soviet Ambassador to Czechoslovakia Viktor Lomakin, Warsaw Treaty joint forces representative in Czechoslovakia Colonel-General Nikolay Zotov and other representatives were present.

Working talks between the Soviet and Czechoslovak delegations took place later today.

Jakes Receives Lizichev

LD2501163589 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1600 GMT 25 Jan 89

[Text] Today in Prague Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, received Army General Aleksey Lizichev, chief of the Main Political Directorate of the Soviet Army and Navy.

Aleksey Lizichev informed Milos Jakes about the present state of the restructuring of Soviet society. He stated that restructuring is also fully reflected in the life of the Soviet Army and Navy. This fact was also fully manifested in the unilateral disarmament measures of the Soviet Union which were presented by Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev at the last UN session.

Milos Jakes welcomed the disarmament measures adopted by the Soviet Union. He expressed confidence that the results of the Vienna follow-up meeting of the signatory states to the Final Act of the CSCE conference, and in particular the fulfillment of the mandate for talks on conventional disarmament in Europe and for the adoption of new measures for strengthening trust and security, will contribute to a further improvement of interstate relations. He also spoke highly of cooperation between the Czechoslovak People's Army and the Soviet Army and their contribution to securing the defensive capability of the Warsaw Pact states.

Visit to Military School

LD2401172889 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1600 GMT 24 Jan 89

[Text] Today the delegation of the Main Political Directorate of the Soviet Army and Navy, headed by its chief, Army General Aleksey Lizichev, visited the Antonin Zapotocky Military Academy in Brno. The delegation acquainted itself with the activity of Czechoslovakia's oldest and largest military school. In a discussion with Vladimir Herman, candidate Presidium member of the CPCZ Central Committee and chief secretary of the South Moravian Regional Party Committee, the members of the Soviet military delegation then were acquainted with the restructuring of economic and social life in the region, and with the practical, civilian utilization of the results of scientific-technical workplaces, including military ones.

USSR Deputy Foreign Minister Aboymov Arrives

LD1901164089 Prague CTK in English 1219 GMT 19 Jan 89

[Text] Prague Jan 19 (CTK)—Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Ivan Aboymov arrived here today for bilateral consultations at the invitation of Czechoslovak First Deputy Foreign Minister Pavel Sadovsky.

The two officials concentrated on questions of the further development of cooperation between the two countries' Foreign Ministries and the possibilities to concretize the new Soviet peace initiatives submitted by Mikhail Gorbachev at the 43rd U.N. General Assembly session.

Meets With Johanes

LD2001231189 Prague CTK in English 2125 GMT 20 Jan 89

[Text] Prague Jan 20 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jaromir Johanes received here today Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Ivan Aboymov.

The two representatives discussed several questions of Czechoslovak-Soviet relations, the present international situation and further development of cooperation between the two countries' Foreign Ministries.

The same day, Ivan Aboymov was received by member of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee and head of its International Policy Department Michal Stefanak.

Adamec To Visit Iran at Musavi's Invitation

LD2501151389 Prague CTK in English 1437 GMT 25 Jan 89

[Text] Prague Jan 25 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Premier Ladislav Adamec will pay an official visit to Iran in the coming days, at the invitation of Prime Minister Mir Hoseyn Musavi.

Urbanek Returns From USSR Visit 20 Jan

AU2401150289 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 21 Jan 89 p 2

[CTK report]

[Text] Karel Urbanek, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and chairman of the Committee for Party Work in the Czech SR, returned from a visit to the USSR very early Friday morning [20 January]. The visit took place at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee.

Urban Returns From Havana CEMA Meeting

AU2401131489 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 20 Jan 89 p 2

[CTK report in the "International Relations" column]

[Summary] A Czechoslovak delegation headed by Bohumil Urban, CSSR first deputy premier and chairman of the State Planning Commission, which had attended in Havana the 43d session of the CEMA committee for cooperation in the sphere of planning, returned home on 19 January.

Results of Vienna CSCE Meeting Applauded

AU2401141189 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 21 Jan 89 p 1

[Editorial: "Accord in Vienna"]

[Text] The Vienna CSCE follow-up meeting has ended. The date of 19 January 1989—when the foreign ministers of the 35 signatory states to the Helsinki Final Act solemnly wound up the final session—will go down as another important milestone in the history of building a common European home.

It is precisely the Vienna final document that is of fundamental importance for the further development of

the process of deepening all-European security and cooperation. RUDE PRAVO has already cited its fundamental ideas. In the next 4 years, a total of 11 [number as published] follow-up activities will influence the atmosphere on our continent: three conferences on human rights, a symposium on cultural heritage, a forum on information, a meeting on security and cooperation in the Mediterranean, talks on a peaceful settlement of conflicts; in particular, the talks on conventional disarmament from the Atlantic to the Urals; a forum on confidence- and security-building measures; and, finally, the fourth follow-up meeting in 1992.

As one can see, there is a respectable set of decisions and activities which should help to develop cooperation in Europe and increase confidence among states, a truly broad program for all-European cooperation in all spheres.

The reaching of an agreement on beginning as early as 6 March of this year, two follow-up deliberations in parallel in Vienna—the talks on conventional disarmament from the Atlantic to the Urals involving the 23 signatory states of the Warsaw Pact and NATO, and the forum of all 35 signatory states to the Helsinki Final Act on confidence- and security-building measures—is of first-rate importance.

The two forums will be held in the same place at the same time. This will facilitate the continuity and the interconnections. Thus, representatives of the remaining 12 states that are not members of both military-political groupings—that is, the nonaligned and the neutral countries, which have already more than once positively influenced negotiations, the last time at the Vienna follow-up meeting—will have their say on conventional disarmament. In this way, the adopted decision only underscores the efforts for a Europe-wide dimension of the disarmament process. And precisely these two forums constitute the core, the foundation of the further course toward a more secure continent.

The question could arise: Who actually has won in Vienna—the West or the East? However, for quite some time now the developments in Europe, and not only in Europe, are not being viewed as the victory of one or the other side. The fact is that, by the adoption of the document, all those who live on this continent have gained, in the first place, a victory for Europe's benefit, for our benefit.

The road to the final document was complex. And again—as so often during recent international deliberations—a realistic approach toward international affairs and the method of compromise were successful here. Not by coincidence. The fact that, in the end, the participating countries—one, and then a second, or a third—managed to downgrade their demands a bit and raise the all-European interests higher, above their own, is the consequence and at the same time the result of the assertion of the new political thinking in practice, in international life. To put it concisely: an emerging awareness that we all live in a common home, and that one will be able to breathe better there when together we begin to eliminate the imaginary powder keg on which this home stands. No matter whether this keg takes the form of nuclear or conventional weapons, or pollution of the environment....

The success in Vienna is also a consequence of the fact that we have learned to understand one another better, that we know one another better. And this knowledge also yields trust. Only a few years ago, someone who considered it possible that one side would demonstrate its most modern strategic bomber, for example, to other side, that journalists' cameras would be clicking on military firing ranges, would be regarded, to say the least, as a hopeless dreamer. What looked impossible only yesterday is a reality today, and this reflects the shift in international relations.

The "Vienna accord," as Mikhail Gorbachev has called that common unifying feature, cannot be perceived separately or divorced from the general trend in international relations. The accord in Vienna and the adopted final document are the consequence of a process which is far broader, far more general, and more long-term than the mere 27 months of the Vienna deliberations.

This process had already begun with the adoption of the Helsinki Final Act in 1975. Even though the all-European process of detente underwent a whole number of reversals, precisely in the past 4 years it acquired a new strength, upsurge, and energy. Therefore, the Vienna meeting also shook the "Iron Curtain," eroded its rusty construction, made further cracks in it, accelerated its corrosion, and became a new milestone on the road to a qualitatively new state of Europe.

Certainly, one did not succeed in everything. For example, the economic aspects of European cooperation remained a considerably peripheral issue, and the results in that connection could only be described as "modest," for most of the trash of the old confrontational approach has remained here.

A respectable piece of work was done in Vienna, which has strengthened the foundations of the European home. But the work on this continues and will continue. The adopted final document creates the necessary prerequisites for this.

However, in order for work to continue successfully and with new dynamism, on the last day of the final session of the Vienna follow-up meeting the Soviet Union came forward with further initiatives. The idea to convene an all-European summit meeting, which would be attended by all signatories to the Helsinki Final Act, can be regarded as the most important. It proceeds from the Soviet belief that, after a certain time, the extent of the deliberations on disarmament in Europe will urgently require deliberations conducted by the highest representatives.

The lights in the congress hall of the Austria Center have gone out. The solemn moments of the final session will now be supplanted by strenuous work to implement the document. Only at first glance does this look like normal, everyday work, because its goal is uncommon: a more secure Europe.

Chemical Warfare Production, Exports Reported
AU2501121689 Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 23 Jan 89 pp 27-29

[Unattributed report: "Out of the Pajamas"]

[Text] The GDR, too, participates in the development of chemical agents and in the construction of the Libyan poison gas plant. It has an excellent reputation internationally in research on chemical weapons.

GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer, 65, posed as the immaculate German. "We do not have any chemical weapons," he claimed at the Paris chemical weapons conference the week before last, "we do not develop them, and we do not store them." Hidden by a blue and white globe on the rostrum, he called for the "complete elimination of chemical weapons"—for "the survival of mankind."

The strongest applause came from the seventh row, where the nine-member GDR delegation sat. In the spacious conference hall of the Paris UNESCO building new proof of international hypocrisy had been given.

There has long been sufficient evidence of the fact that the other German state is also making money in the dirty business with chemical mass destruction means. Domestic and foreign intelligence services, international arms dealers, and statements by a former GDR lieutenant, which are available to DER SPIEGEL, confirm how intensively the GDR is participating in international chemical-weapons armament.

Thus, in 1984 Iraqi businessman Ihsan Barbouti negotiated with the VEB Light Metal Construction Combine in Plauen about the delivery of 10,800 tonnes of steel constructions for a "Technology Center" near Tripoli. FRG companies were not able to undercut the cheap offer from the East bloc. Like the capitalist companies from the West, the GDR also delivered equipment to Colonel Al-Qadhdhafi for the "Pharma 150" in Al-Rabitah.

The fact that the civilian materials serve totally different purposes was probably recognized early by the GDR intelligence services. In 1987 the GDR tightened its export regulations for chemicals, which can be used "both for peaceful purposes and for the production of weapons" (Foreign Minister Fischer).

In chemical-weapons research, which has always been denied officially, the GDR belongs to the world's best. Even the Military Service Office of the Bundeswehr in Munster, Lower Saxony, which is responsible for protection against nuclear, biological, and chemical weapons, is working with a 1,100-page "Textbook of Military Chemistry" from East Berlin. Since former GDR scientist Adolf-Hening Frucht, 75, revealed the East's secret research into combat agents (DER SPIEGEL No 24-28/1978), Western intelligence services have been following the East bloc's chemical-weapons armament more intensively. What the Soviets once called the "fantasies of a madman" is now confirmed by a former lieutenant of the National People's Army (NVA), who himself learned to handle chemical agents in the GDR: According to his own statements, Ulrich Bergemann, who has lived near Darmstadt since his expulsion in 1984, had access to strictly guarded research departments for years as a lab assistant.

In his work contract with the VEB Pharmaceutical Works, Dresden, he had to pledge "strictest secrecy"—for obvious reasons. His workplace in work section 101 of the branch enterprise in Radebeul, Wilhelm-Pieck-Strasse 35, was located in a prohibited area. In laboratory 14, accessible only with an identification card marked in black, "nitrogen analyses for the military-medical section" were carried out. In laboratories 1 and 2 the pharmaceutical researchers worked on "phosphorus-organic compounds" for "psychological-toxic combat agents."

According to a NATO report published in 1985, 15,000 scientist in the Warsaw Pact have been working for "basic research for chemical weapons" for 30 years—for instance in the GDR Bitterfeld Chemical Combine, in the VEB Fahlberg List, Magdeburg, and in the VEB Fluorine Works near Pirna. There Bergemann saw how the National People's Army picked up sodiumfluoride, the basic chemical substance for the nerve poison Sarin, in a tank wagon.

In a flat-roofed building, in work section 106, the GDR researchers tested various combat agents on cats, dogs, and guinea-pigs. Glass ampules, filled with Sarin, were shot into the test cells with a catapult, Bergemann says.

Bergemann's zeal was worthwhile. He had already been asked when he was drafted whether "in view of his special knowledge" he did not want to serve "in a special unit." At the Nuclear Physics Central Institute in Rossendorf he had passed the examination and was rated as a skilled worker. The judgment: "good talents and good intellectual grasp."

He registered with the "riot people's police," which is under the jurisdiction of the Ministry for Internal Affairs, and was called in to ward off "internal unrest" and to "protect individuals."

According to Bergemann, at the Radeberg "Noncommissioned Officers School," he was instructed in dealing with gas warfare agents. The equipment of the people's police includes tear gas and eye irritants, as it does in the West. "Irritant grenades" were fired from rifle barrels. The smoke candles used were still partly marked with an imperial eagle. Old chemical agents from World War II are "processed in laboratories" (Bergemann) in the GDR. Bergemann said that mustard gas and Tabun grenades of a 75mm caliber had to be refilled for bigger launchers of the Soviet forces.

In the National People's Army, Bergemann later received "thorough military-chemical training." His paratroop unit, No 509, in Prora, on the island of Ruegen, was drilled in close combat for action in the enemy hinterland, for the guerrilla-like elimination of guards, and for blowing up bridges. In simulated acts of sabotage against drinking water systems, chemical poison was used, Bergemann says. Because handling explosive material was also expected, Bergemann passed an additional examination to become a blaster: "a lively unit."

In the eastern Soviet Union, unit 509 was trained in cold weather operations. At temperatures of between 30 and 35 degrees below zero, the GDR soldiers were trained for 3 and ½ weeks in the use of "tactical mixtures." The freezing point of chemical agents can be lowered by special liquids. The advantage: Even U.S. missile stations in Alaska can be neutralized by a surprise chemical attack.

Near the Siberian city of Tomsk, the "elimination" of an enemy missile basis was rehearsed. To this end, the Soviet Army as the supposed enemy had built—and finally blew up—lifelike dummies of the U.S. "Honest John" missile. Even NATO weapons such as the German G3 rifle or antitank grenade launcher 44 were used. With chemical agent indicator KZ1a, the lethal gas could be sprayed even at extremely low temperatures.

On the other hand, exercises at extremely high temperatures were carried out in desertlike areas in Kazakhstan in the summer. At this time of the year, the chemical agents were mixed with rubberlike additives to achieve longer adhesion and durability.

In military exercises in the GDR, Bergemann learned about even more dangerous chemical agents. In a training area, a senior officer presented a new tactical mixture which was declared top secret. In addition, the chemical agent trichlortriethylamin had been exposed to radiation in a nuclear reactor.

The effects are devastating, because the outer symptoms of radiation contamination are comparable to those of chemical agents and cannot initially be recognized by the potential victims.

Bergemann claims that he also witnessed the application of these chemical agents in the open field. He says that in 1968 the combat troops sprayed the devilish stuff in Duebener Heide near Leipzig. Equipped with protective suits, mobile field laboratories, Geiger counters, and dosimeters, they measured chemical-nuclear contaminations. The betanuclides decomposed only after several days, Bergemann says: "total madness."

In contrast, the use of flamethrowers seems to be almost harmless. Effective incendiary agents such as the gray-brown napalm allegedly form part of the GDR forces' chemical warfare. Even though the use of napalm against civilians has been internationally banned since the Vietnam war, GDR soldiers in flamethrowing units have learned how to produce effective incendiary mines. According to Bergemann, simple tin barrels, filled with napalm and splinter mines, are being hidden in the ground along the frontline.

During National People's Army reserve exercises near Frankfurt/Oder, Bergemann witnessed in a reconnaissance unit for the last time in 1980 how soldiers were harassed by their superior with eye irritants, when the gas alert was given in the early morning: "Get out of your pajamas, and into the gas masks."

In the GDR the basic equipment of military units includes a pack of blue, yellow, black, or green counterinjections for various chemical agents. According to NATO findings, special ventilating systems in the Warsaw Pact army vehicles protect the troops against nuclear, chemical, and bacteriological contamination.

In 1984, Ulrich Bergemann, who meanwhile had become an attorney and regime critic, was expelled. He was deprived of the rank of National People's Army lieutenant.

However, Western intelligence services did not make use of his knowledge in interrogations. A certain "General Agency for Interrogations," Mainz branch office, invited Bergemann for an interview, in order to collect "reliable information for the federal government about other countries."

The former National People's Army officer met with intelligence people in Mainz five times. Then he was supposed to visit the Federal Intelligence Service (BND) headquarters in Pullach near Munich "for several days." However, that did not come about.

Bergemann, who had found a job with a construction materials firm, feared that he would get into trouble with his chief, because he would have again had to ask for compensation for lost earnings [verdienstausfall]. He did not go to Munich—and the BND did not get important information.

Kessler Says NPA Supports Military Reductions

LD2401210989 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1500 GMT 24 Jan 89

[Text] According to Defense Minister Heinz Kessler, the GDR Armed Forces completely support party and state decision to reduce personnel, tanks, aircraft, and military expenditure and to change the structure of the National People's Army. At the commanders' meeting the army general assessed the resolution as a new [passage indistinct] of the GDR to contribute to peace and to a stop to the arms race. The measures were in close harmony with the dialogue police designes to push through peaceful coexistence between states of differing social orders.

Kessler left no doubt about the fact that the National People's Army, in view of the NATO first strike strategy, would guarantee the defense of socialism at the required level. It could not be overlooked that influential circles in the military-industrial complex continue to wish to review the results of the World War II and change international borders.

Honecker Receives Pact Commander Kulikov

LD2501173189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1606 GMT 25 Jan 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—On Wednesday, Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Councils of State and National

Defense, received Marshal of the Soviet Union [MSU] Viktor Kulikov, supreme commander of the Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact member states, who is staying in the GDR.

During the friendly encounter, Erich Honecker informed his interlocutor of the multilateral efforts by the working people and soldiers of the GDR to fulfill the decisions of the 10th SED Congress. He pointed out that further considerable advances in shaping developed socialist society in the GDR were achieved during the past year which characterize our path as one of continuity and renewal.

On that basis the GDR is making an internationally recognized contribution to the realization of the Warsaw Pact's joint peace strategy, as re-expressed recently in the unilateral reduction measures announced on Monday, in order not to allow any break in the disarmament process.

At the same time, Erich Honecker affirmed the resolution of the GDR and its armed forces to meet their alliance obligations at all times within the framework of the Warsaw defense coalition, in order to secure peace and socialism constantly and reliably. MSU Kulikov praised the achievements of the joint armed forces in putting into practice the joint military doctrine of the Warsaw Pact member states. It is now a matter of realizing measures that will give the armies an even stricter defensive character. Up to now, all unilateral disarmament projects of the USSR and other Warsaw Pact states give grounds for the expectation that NATO will react to them constructively.

Both partners in the talks underlined that with the successful conclusion of the Vienna CSCE follow-up meeting, favorable preconditions existed for agreements on the reduction of conventional armed forces, as well as for the further development of measures to build trust and security.

Taking part in the meeting, which passed in a friendly atmosphere, were Army General Heinz Kessler, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and minister of National Defense, as well as Deputy Defense Ministers Colonel General Fritz Streletz and Colonel General Horst Bruenner. Also present was Colonel General Nikolay Moiseyev, member of the Military Council and chief of the Political Directorate of the Group of Soviet Forces in the GDR.

Honecker Congratulates Bush on Inauguration

AU2401151289 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 21-22 Jan 89 p 1

[Text] East Berlin (ND)—In a ceremony on Friday [20 January], the new President of the United States, George Bush, was sworn in. On this occasion, Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, sent the following telegram of congratulations to George Bush:

I convey to you my sincere congratulations and best wishes on the occasion of your inauguration as President of the United States of America. I am convinced that the continuation of political dialogue and the development of mutually advantageous relations, on the basis of equal rights, between the GDR and the United States, using the foundation of the principles of peaceful coexistence, are in the interests of securing both world peace and the well-being of the peoples of the two states. Please accept my wishes for health and personal well-being.

Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council

Honecker, Stoph Send Condolences to Poland

AU2401175889 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 23 Jan 89 p 1

[ND report: "GDR Conveys Condolences to PPR"]

[Text] East Berlin—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, and Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, have sent a telegram of condolences to Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, and Mieczysaw F. Rakowski, chairman of the PPR Council of Ministers, in which they expressed their sincere condolences on the occasion of the death of Jozef Cyrankiewicz, former chairman of the Council of Ministers and later chairman of the PPR State Council, who died at the age of 77 in Warsaw on Friday [20 January]. The telegram reads as follows:

Esteemed comrades:

We were deeply moved when we learned of the death of Comrade Jozef Cyrankiewicz. The Polish people have lost an important statesman whose untiring work for the construction and strengthening of socialism in the Polish People's Republic, for peace, and international cooperation also met with great respect in the GDR. His name continues to be indivisibly linked with the agreement on the Oder-Neisse peace border, which opened a new historic chapter in relations between our peoples.

We convey our sincerest condolences to you on the occasion of this grave loss and assure you that we will always hold him in fond remembrance.

Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council

Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers

Health Minister Resigns; Replacement Named

LD2601114589 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1116 GMT 26 Jan 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, has released Dr Ludwig Mecklinger from his duties as minister of health, at his own request. He expressed the thanks of the Council of Ministers to Mecklinger for his long years of successful work.

The chairman of the Council of Ministers has entrusted Klaus Thielmann, until now deputy minister for Higher and Vocational Training, with the task of the function of minister of health. A proposal to elect Klaus Thielmann as a member of the Council of Ministers has been forwarded to the People's Chamber.

Human Rights Publication Reappears After Year

LD2301132889 Hamburg DPA in German 1244 GMT 23 Jan 89

[Text] Berlin, (DPA)—The GDR critical publication 'GRENZFALL' ('Borderline Case') from the East Berlin action group 'Peace and Human Rights Action Group' ['Initiative Frieden und Meschenrechte'], has appeared for the first time after a year. This became known from well-informed circles in West Berlin on Monday. Its appearance had been stopped after the wave of arrests in connection with the Luxemburg/Liebknecht demonstration in February last year. (In November 1987 'GRENZFALL' was the cause for the search of the East Berlin Environment Library when five members were arrested).

'GRENZFALL' appeared monthly in 1986/7 with a run of about 1,000, and was mainly concerned with human rights topics in the GDR and East Europe. The latest issue is said to deal with subjects such as opposition groups in East Europe, to reproduce a conversation with two Estonian citizens about perestroyka in Estonia, and to report on the petition from a works group at the Bruno Leuschner nuclear power station to the GDR State Council.

"Since 1985, over 200 cases are known to us of citizens of all ages and professions having been refused exit permits from the GDR to socialist countries abroad. As of now, we wish to draw attention to this arbitrary measure by state organs and will publish every new refusal which becomes known to us", it says in the latest issue. Twenty GDR citizens whose trips to the CSSR, Poland and Hungary were said to have been refused, were named.

1989 Foreign Trade Protocol Signed With PRC

AU2401182289 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 20 Jan 89 p 7

[Text] The 1989 protocol on reciprocal trade between the GDR and the PRC was agreed upon on Thursday [19 January] in Beijing.

Based on the 1986-90 long-term government agreement it was established to further increase the extent of reciprocal supplies and services. Thus the successful development and deepening of foreign trade relations continues, to which an effective contribution was made by the GDR exports exhibition of April 1988 in Beijing. GDR exports mainly involve products of the railroad car construction, machine tools, and processing machines constructions, equipment for chemical industry, road vehicles, electric engineering and electronic products, and building machines. Textile products, including children's clothing, knitted underwear, and men's shirts, mining, agricultural, and chemical products are the most important items in the PRC's exports.

Leaders' Public Appearances for 12-18 Jan

AU2001195489 [Editorial Report] East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German from 13 to 19 January reports the following public appearances of GDR leaders (date of publication and page number in parentheses):

The following members and candidate members of the SED Central Committee [CC] attended a militant demonstration in honor of Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht in East Berlin on 15 January: Erich Honecker, Willi Stoph, Hermann Axen, Joachim Herrmann, Werner Jarowinsky, Heinz Kessler, Guenther Kleiber, Egon Krenz, Werner Krolikowski, Erich Mielke, Guenter Mittag, Alfred Neumann, Guenter Schabowski, Harry Tisch, and Inge Lange. (16 Jan, p 1)

SED CC Politburo Members Werner Jarowinski and Guenther Kleiber attended a reception given by the Cuban ambassador in Berlin on 16 January. (17 Jan, p 2)

Willi Stoph, chairman of the Council of Ministers, received outgoing Cypriot Ambassador Michael Sherifis in East Berlin on 12 January (13 Jan, p 2)

Hans-Joachim Boehme, member of SED CC Politburo, met with youth brigades of the Halle Bezirk FDJ organization in Halle on 12 January (13 Jan, p 2)

Werner Eberlein, member of the SED CC Politburo, visited Centrum department store in Magdeburg on 12 January (13 Jan, p 2)

Kurt Hager, member of the SED CC Politburo, met with Rene Le Guen, member of the Politburo of the PCF CC in East Berlin on 12 January (13 Jan, p 1)

Army General Heinz Kessler, member of the SED CC Politburo and minister for National Defense, visited the Army Sport Club in Frankfurt/Oder on 13 January. (14-15 Jan, p 2)

Egon Krenz, member of the SED CC, met with CPSU delegation and Aleksander S. Pavlov, head of the state and law department, in Berlin on 16 January. (17 Jan, p 2)

Guenter Mittag, member of the SED CC, met with Walther Leisler Kiep, member of the CDU Presidium in Berlin on 16 January. (17 Jan, p 1) He also received PPR official Zbigniew Grabowski for talks in Berlin on 17 January. (18 Jan, p 1)

Werner Walde, candidate member of the SED CC Politburo, visited the "Wilhelm Pieck" Youth Power Plant in Jaenschwalde on 13 January. (14-15 Jan, p 2)

Karpati Receives Pact Chief of Staff Gribkov

LD2501163189 Budapest MTI in English
1520 GMT 25 Jan 89

[Text] Budapest, January 25 (MTI)—Army General Anatoliy Gribkov, chief of staff of the Warsaw Treaty united armed forces, in Hungary on a brief working visit since Tuesday evening, met Colonel-General Ferenc Karpati, Minister of Defence, on Wednesday and held talks at the Ministry of Defence.

Details USSR Troop Withdrawal

LD2501170989 Budapest MTI in English
1646 GMT 25 Jan 89

[Text] Budapest, January 25 (MTI)—With the preparations completed, the schedule for the withdrawal of part of the troops, armaments and military technology of the Soviet Southern Army Group temporarily stationed in Hungary has been finalized. Colonel-General Ferenc Karpati, minister of defence, informed the HUNGARIAN NEWS AGENCY about details on Wednesday.

He said that he had recently received a letter from Army General Dmitriy Yazov, Soviet defence minister, officially informing Hungary's leadership about what units are to be withdrawn from Hungarian territory, and at what pace. Accordingly, during the first half of this year, an armoured car division is to set off for home from Veszprem and vicinity, and an armoured car instructor regiment will also be removed. The second half of the year will see a parachute assault battalion and a fighter plane regiment from Tokol airport leaving Hungary, when a chemical defence battalion and the staff of Szolnok Officers' Military Academy depart.

Answering a question on concrete numerical data, Colonel-General Ferenc Karpati said that, although the details are known, what matters most is not the number of soldiers, but the fire-power and striking force of the weapons and war technology, including tanks, aircraft and parachute assault units.

The minister of defence also reported that the two headquarters are continuing talks about the future of evacuated facilities, and added that a few pending problems will also be solved. He said that, as an MP, he had been contacted by people anxious about the fate of a listed building near Esztergom Cathedral which has housed a Soviet military hospital for a long time. Now this building would also become vacant. The coordination talks are expected to offer an appropriate solution to the transfer of the smaller Soviet sub-unit accommodated in Grassalkovich Castle, Godollo.

The discussions will cover the fate of the facilities in Veszprem and Tokol. However, it can already be stated with certainty that both areas will become noticeably quieter, and the high noise level frequently, and justly, [word indistinct] to by the population will decrease. It is not certain whether all barracks to be vacated shortly will be handed over, as a reorganization of Soviet troops will be carried out in Hungary: various units will be regrouped, mainly from the western part of the country, Ferenc Karpati said in conclusion.

Government Denies Sending Message to Ceaucescu

AU2501145689 Paris AFP in English
1441 GMT 25 Jan 89

[Text] Budapest, Jan 25 (AFP)—Romania, which last year faked congratulatory messages from two monarchs, was indirectly accused on Wednesday of doing it again.

A Hungarian spokesman denied that the Hungarian leader, Karoly Grosz, had addressed to his Romanian counterpart, Nicolae Ceaucescu, "his wishes for an excellent health and new successes in his activities as head of the Romanian party and state for the edification of the socialist society being multilaterally developed in Romania."

That alleged message was reported Tuesday by the Romanian news agency AGERPRES, which said that it was delivered to the Romanian delegation at a meeting of East Bloc trade union leaders in Budapest.

The Hungarian spokesman said Mr. Grosz had addressed no personal wishes to Mr. Ceaucescu, but only instructed the Hungarian delegation to the meeting to transmit his best wishes to the party leaders of the visiting delegations, without naming them.

Last January, on the occasion of Mr. Ceaucescu's 70th birthday, the Romanian weekly newspaper LUMEA had printed congratulatory messages from Queen Elizabeth II of Britain and King Carl XVI Gustav of Sweden, which were promptly denounced. A similar incident in February 1987 had involved an alleged message from British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher.

However, there appear to be no recorded cases involving other communist countries. Relations between Hungary and Romania have been strained by reports of forced assimilation of ethnic Hungarians by the Romanian authorities.

Commentary Praises Conclusion of CSCE Talks

AU2501084589 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 21 Jan 89 p 1

[Editorial by Andras Kanyo: "Our Common Home: Europe"]

[Text] The foreign ministers of 33 European countries and of Canada and the United States met for 3 days in the Vienna Conference Center. The words "new beginning" were often mentioned in their positions concerning the future of Europe. Others used this expression in the plural. Both versions are justified because everything

that diplomatic language called the closing phase of more than 2 years of negotiations outlined the prospects for the future, in addition to considering the past.

Considering the contents of the final document adopted in Vienna, the future promises to be very exciting, but the speakers also reviewed the road covered. Listening to the speeches, an observer had the impression that here the leading diplomats of the East and West had really eliminated the relics that occasionally persisted in diplomatic parlance. Rhetorical elements of the fifties and sixties still emerged in some speeches, but mutual accusations disappeared from the analysis of the past. The speeches focused on the joint historical past, namely, that whatever happened in past decades and hindered people from coming together in this divided continent, was not only the fault of one side or the other, but appeared in the form of military confrontation and political and economic isolation as a bad reflex that originated precisely from this division over the years.

Although there were still politicians who considered confrontation to be a living reality that affects our everyday activity, mentioning the Berlin Wall as an example, the majority wanted to forget everything that cast a shadow on our coexistence. It was Eduard Shevardnadze who, quoting Rousseau and Lev Tolstoy, formulated the switch from the past to the present most pointedly and elegantly. In quoting the great Russian writer, Shevardnadze warned us that it is important not only to know where we stand, but also to know in which direction we are heading. When he spoke about where we stand, he reminded us that the iron curtain had become extremely defective in recent years and its pillars had been crumbling, so the natural process of corrosion would do its work. As is well known, the iron curtain is a Western invention. This expression was first used by the great personality of 20th century British political life, Sir Winston Churchill. Although he thought that we, namely those living in Eastern Europe, had let this iron curtain fall, the reality is that the West also had a considerable share in erecting visible and invisible obstacles. Now that some of these obstacles have been eliminated and we are jointly working to demolish the others, they also recognize this. The Soviet foreign minister also mentioned this:

The quotation from the great French thinker was meant to illustrate that a lot of positive initiatives had emerged in Europe even before the French Revolution, but very few of these initiatives were implemented, because either the new concepts did not suit Europe, or Europe did not suit these initiatives. Therefore, the head of Soviet diplomacy was more than justified in asking whether today's Europe is suitable for implementing of the concepts that were worked out and collated in an international document by diplomats through such a hard work?

The answer to this question is positive, because Europe is not the same as it used to be. In the wake of close to 1 and ½ decades of transformation—known as the Helsinki process—the world has changed a lot, and so have the concepts about the world in the countries of Europe, and in Canada and the United State that joined these countries with the intention of creating a new future. However, the element that has brought the decisive change is what both East and West call the new political thinking, the changes under way in the Soviet society, a factor called restructuring in all languages of the world. Not only do we say so, but Western bourgeois newspapers—like DIE PRESSE of Vienna—and our past enemies and present partners at the negotiating tables also say so. At the conclusion of the Vienna meeting, U.S. Ambassador Warren Zimmermann said the following: "It is also thanks to Mikhail Gorbachev and the processes and initiatives started by him that the Vienna meeting has ended successfully and that human rights play such a great role in the final document."

The most recent foreign and security policy measures taken by the Soviet Government have again proven that all this is no exaggeration. The Soviet foreign minister's speech in Vienna surprised the world with the Soviet intention to withdraw its tactical nuclear arms from Central Europe. Shevardnadze also reminded his audience that several proposals had already been made to dismantle these arms and that these proposals were still on the negotiating table. NATO had previously rejected these proposals and decided to modernize similar weapons in its arsenal by claiming that Western Europe can only feel secure if defended by these weapons. FRG politicians have drawn attention to this paradox in the NATO doctrine—politicians from a country which has most of the short- and intermediate-range nuclear weapons deployed on its territory. The following reasoning originates from the heads of the CDU-CSU parliamentary faction in the FRG: The shorter the range of the nuclear arms deployed in the FRG, the greater the number of German dead in the case of a conflict. This is true, because nuclear artillery can shoot nuclear warheads to a distance of only 30 kilometers.

One can imagine the consequences, or better, today, one can no longer imagine them, because an increasing number of countries in both East and West would like to get rid of these weapons. The Soviet Union has taken the first step in this direction and has thus given new impetus to disarmament processes.

The idea of establishing a joint European home emerged as a common feature at the Vienna meeting and in the speeches of the foreign ministers. In the opinion of the majority, the diplomats have now worked out the rules for this home. Although not everyone regards these rules as obligatory yet, in the international community there is a strong desire to implement these rules. There was also the opinion that, if the method of discussions failed to lead to the desired results, compelling means could also be used in the final analysis. It would be preferable, however, if a recognition of realities, rather than constraint, made those who are still reluctant to legally guarantee national minority and general human rights see reason, so that everyone should be able to freely

chose his place of residence and, if one changes his residence, he should not have to give up his language, culture, and the traditions of his people. He should also be able to pursue these as a minority group within his whole homeland, thus enriching universal culture.

It is perhaps no exaggeration to say that the spirit of collaboration has prevailed in Vienna, and the contours of a new political style are beginning to emerge, a political style that regards confrontation as something characteristic of the past and which wants to build the future on the firm bases of understanding and of political, economic, and cultural cooperation.

Hungarian diplomatic efforts have also contributed to the success of the Vienna meeting. We accept the stipulations of the final document and regard them as obligatory for us too, and we will implement them. This is not difficult for us, because the profound economic and political reform processes currently under way in Hungary are in complete harmony with the spirit and content of the final document adopted in Vienna. Implementation of the stipulations of the final document will contribute to the implementation of our economic and social goals. At the same time, we do not hide the fact that we wanted to achieve more in guaranteeing the individual and collective rights of the national minorities. We are convinced that the development of all-European cooperation will make also it possible to recognize the collective rights of the national minorities at a later date.

Rezso Nyers on Reforms, Ties With Italy

PM2001140489 Rome AVANTI! in Italian 15-16 Jan 89 p 15

[Article by Politburo member Rezso Nyers: "Hungarians' Anxieties and Hopes"; first paragraph is AVANTI! introduction]

[Text] LA GAZZETTA ITALO-UNGHERESE has published an article by Rezso Nyers, the well-known economist and reformer who is currently super-minister in charge of the Hungarian Government's economic portfolios.

I believe Fabio Fabbri [Italian Socialist Party senator] is correct when he says that the East-West dialogue has reached a historic milestone, and I join him in viewing this as a good thing.

It really is so for the whole of Europe and for Italy and Hungary, both individually and from the point of view of their cooperation. The anxiety that we felt cannot disappear completely, but I believe that there are now several reasons for us to be hopeful and to start building a longer-term future both in Europe and in other parts of the world. Many, many bridges will have to be built in this Europe which is split in two—strong, solid political, economic, and cultural bridges that will also provide institutional links between peoples and states. The dialogue must continue with a view to providing clarification and opening up connecting paths, but it is also to be hoped that an era of action can also begin. There are good signs: the meetings following the Helsinki accords, the Vienna and Geneva negotiations on reductions in armed forces, and the framework agreement between the EEC and CEMA. In the future it will also be possible to build bridges between Italy and Hungary more swiftly.

Fabio Fabbri writes anxiously about Hungary, about the political leadership's closing in on itself, its economic difficulties, and the danger of stagnation. I myself have shared these anxieties over the past 2 years, and my anxiety has not yet entirely passed. It seemed to me that Hungary had reached the end of a road, that this road led no further, but that nevertheless an attempt was being made to take the road that would lead forward and that the leadership was unsure which route would prove best for the country.

The uncertainty caused delays and missed opportunities. True, the process of economic reforms lost its strength, and there was a failure to link it properly to financial stabilization, while the political leadership, closed in on itself, enjoyed less and less confidence within the country.

More Freedom and Democracy

A contradiction resulted between the good reputation in foreign policy and the imbalance in domestic policy, the reputation as a country of reforms and the actual implementation of reforms. This was the situation that we had to tackle in the first 5 months of the year, as well as holding discussions within the party and the nation's public life, examining possibilities, making criticisms, and seeking new paths. At the end of May this confrontation with the situation produced positive results at the MSZMP national conference—a forum at which a very promising decision was reached.

In the early summer there was a revival of hope and the human capacity for action, though anxiety did not disappear entirely. Party members aligned themselves very resolutely in favor of continuing the policy of reforms, and this line prevailed in the political decisions. This display of determination is in line with the thinking of the majority of the politically aware portion of the country, of the part that expresses political assessments. According to surveys, the opinions of party members and nonparty people on the most topical political issues now coincide. This marks the beginning of the second phase in the policy of reforms in Hungary, within whose context the economic reform is acquiring new impetus and the reform of the system of political institutions is beginning, within whose framework resolutions at the state level will be linked much more freely and broadly with the spontaneous activities of the various communities, associations, and social organizations. In the future

that is taking shape, Hungary will on the military plane remain within the Warsaw Pact alliance, while politically, culturally, and economically it will be open to both parts of Europe.

It could fairly be asked: To what, which actions, and which course does the current political change give the go-ahead in Hungary?

First, I would like to cite the openness in domestic policy reflected in the extension of the freedom to express political opinions. This is apparent in the activities of the press and in the real exercise of the freedoms of assembly and association. The single-party system remains unchanged in Hungary, but apart from this, with regard to the expression of specific interests, freedom is asserted within the limits enshrined in the Constitution. The party, which performs a role of political coordination, acts under supervision by society and the government under supervision by parliament. Within the party, too, a process of democratization is being carried out; the members' role is no longer confined to the mere implementation of the leadership bodies' resolutions, but this rather includes influencing the decisionmaking process through debate. The party is now moving in the right direction to evolve from a traditional communist party to a unified workers party capable of combining the virtues of the previous communist party with those of a social democratic party.

However, party democracy is only one of the important elements of socialist democracy. The other element lies in the free functioning of autonomous social organizations and voluntary associations. This is the direction in which we are moving and have already made progress.

Second, I would like to mention a continuation of the economic reform aimed at developing a socialist-type market economy. This is basically a multisectoral mixed economy in which state and cooperative enterprises together have a dominant role, but in which private enterprises also are significant and in which foreign-owned enterprises and joint ventures are also given the opportunity to operate. The development of such conditions will take place gradually. The chances are good because we are not starting from scratch in this field either. State and cooperative enterprises will also have to operate under market conditions, and the state's economic policy will seek not to limit market relations but rather to regulate them on the basis of public interests. Pay levels will depend increasingly on understanding between enterprise management and labor unions, which, however, will become possible only through a further development of market relations and of the monetary system. All this will constitute a newly conceived socialist economic system.

Openness to the Outside

As the third factor, I would like to stress that through its policy of reforms, Hungary intends to intensify its economic and cultural cooperation with the Western, southern, and northern countries of Europe.

Within this context Italy must occupy a preeminent place, for it is a country with which our relations are truly historical. The Hungarian economy is very open to the outside world: Over 40 percent of our GNP is accounted for by exports and imports, and 36 percent stems from European economic cooperation. This is important, and we will try to further increase our role in scientific cooperation and cultural exchanges. Tourism in both directions is significant, and it is tending toward a further increase.

In 1987 almost 19 million foreigners came to Hungary (including 13 million tourists), while 7.2 million of our fellow countrymen (including 6.5 million tourists) traveled abroad. Large numbers of books, movies, and magazines are already opening the windows onto the world for Hungarian citizens, and we want to step up this process. Will there be partners willing to contribute to the achievement of our plans? We hope so.

Hungary, within the observance of its commitments deriving from its alliance with the socialist countries, aims at autonomy in its international relations and also in its domestic development. Satisfactory results are being achieved within the context of Italian-Hungarian relations, but there are still many possibilities to be exploited.

Italy's foreign trade dealings with Hungary are at a medium level, while Hungary's with Italy are actually at a low level. One-third of our country's foreign trade is conducted with the Soviet Union, and one-third with the FRG, the GDR, and Austria.

Italy plays an important role in the remaining third, but this role could perhaps be even greater.

In tourism, however, Italy occupies a better position. In 1987 156,000 Italians visited us, earning the Italians third place in this sector, behind the West Germans and Austrians.

Europe has entered a period in which its fate could change. Italian-Hungarian cooperation could assume a positive role in this process.

SZOT Issues Stand on Recent Price Increases

AU2001202589 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 14 Jan 89 p 1

["Position of the Presidium of the National Council of Trade Unions on the Consumer Price Increases in 1989"]

[Text] Repeatedly reviewing the situation following the price increases of 9 January 1989 and the subsequent broad wave of protests, and considering the initiatives of the professional, branch, county, and enterprise trade union bodies, the National Council of Trade Unions [SZOT] Presidium at its 13 January session considered it necessary to formulate and publish a new position.

As it also stressed during its latest meeting, SZOT considers the workers' indignation and bitter reaction to these extremely high price increases to be justified. By this, the SZOT Presidium regards as justified its position that has been regularly expressed and often published in the past 6 months, a position whereby it does not agree with such a drastic and simultaneous increase in the prices of a wide range of basic consumer goods and services.

During their talks with the government, the SZOT leaders consistently stressed that, although they understood the need to reduce subsidies, they thought that a too rapid and drastic implementation of such measures would not contribute to the creation of an economic balance, but could endanger the fragile social consensus. At the last SZOT-government meeting, the trade unions thought that a lower extent of price increases would be acceptable, but did not accept a 6 percent decrease in real wages planned by the government. The SZOT Presidium considers it unfortunate that the government authorities did not consider the responsible trade union opinions thoroughly enough, and thus the government authorities are forcing the trade unions to use other ways to assert their positions.

Following the measures taken at the beginning of this year, the SZOT Presidium thinks that the effects of the price increase measures taken by the Council of Ministers—along with the expected annual increase in free market products, and according to the published official government opinions and the preliminary calculations made by SZOT—will exceed the 12 percent increase in consumer prices, a figure taken as a starting point during the meeting of SZOT and government leaders in November 1988, and which also served as a basis for wage and social policy agreements. Thus, these measures will further aggravate the problems of people living on wages and salaries, and of pensioners, and will make the situation of considerable strata of society living below the subsistence level even more difficult, or even hopeless. An increasing proportion of our population is facing rapid impoverishment. It is the firm opinion of the trade unions that this process has to stop.

At the initiative of the professional and branch trade union leaders, the SZOT Presidium has evaluated the situation and decided to submit demands for compensation that will counterbalance the unfavorable effects of government measures that oppose our agreements and counterbalance the further drastic deterioriation of real wages and real incomes, compensation that will thoroughly affect people living on wages and salaries, pensioners, mothers on child-care leave, and people eligible for family allowances and scholarships. Therefore, the Presidium calls for an immediate meeting of SZOT and government leaders and for an extraordinary meeting of the National Interest Coordination Council, and demands the consistent implementation of previous agreements and the discussion of new trade union proposals. The latter will soon be published by the SZOT Presidium. In connection with this, the SZOT Presidium thinks it is desirable for the Council of Ministers to immediately discuss the situation and formulate a position on the trade union initiatives.

The SZOT Presidium demands that the government work out its wage reform and social policy reform concepts, as well as the framework of an economic policy concept focused on economic growth and on the acceleration of the domestic market and not on a unilateral decrease in consumption, and to submit them to the leading trade union bodies by the end of the first half of the current year at the latest.

At the same time, the SZOT Presidium draws the attention of the trade union organizations, basic organizations, and of every official to the need to initiate the greatest possible wage increase, in harmony with the prevailing economic possibilities, within local bodies that represent interests where this has not yet been done. The Presidium similarly considers it important for the enterprise and institution trade unions to initiate the use of existing local resources and the uncovering of mistakes, and to assert the interests of the workers in these enterprises and institutions.

The SZOT Presidium thinks that, despite the strong and bitter protest from the population, the trade union members displayed a responsible attitude and their manifestations did not endanger social tranquility and political stability. All this compels the leading trade union bodies and officials to protect the interests of their members even more firmly and consistently. The firm position of the organized workers, coupled with their thoughtful attitude also require the government to show similar responsibility toward well-founded demands and to take tangible measures to create a social consensus.

The SZOT Presidium hopes that the government and employers will consider the demands of the trade unions, and will not force them to use means they have not used to date and which they also consider to be inevitable in order to protect the justified interests of their members.

Being aware of its responsibility, the SZOT Presidium will not demand government measures that could hinder economic development and endanger the country's political stability. At the same time, along with economic considerations, SZOT considers it its responsibility to thoroughly consider its members' conditions, understand their difficulties, and, within the possibilities, initiate measures to protect their living and working conditions.

The SZOT Presidium has firmly declared that the leadership of the trade union movement will accept criticism only from its members, and it does not accept lecturing from anyone else. In connection with this, the SZOT Presidium rejects all opinions that try to make the trade unions responsible for the deteriorating economic conditions and for social tensions.

Editorial Views Introduction of Price Increases

AU1801131689 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 9 Jan 89 p 3

[Editorial by Istvan Matko: "Our Prices"]

[Text] We did not rejoice at the news, and there is also frequent indignation now, at the introduction of the expected price increases. This indignation is understandable because the current price increases deeply affect household budgets, while we have just ended another difficult year in a series of such difficult years. We also know that quite a few strata of society are struggling with poverty. Therefore, with the latest price increases, we join all those who are not celebrating this day.

However, the increase in prices is a fact which we must take into account. Anyone who reviews the—unfortunately too-long—list will perhaps find the reasons for these measures and the background to these measures. The types and the extent of the pricing measures reflect the general and organizational problems facing our economy. Although we are aware of all these things—the debates of the autumn and winter sessions of parliament pointed them out—it is still worth repeating: Hungary has come to a point at which it simply cannot continue accumulating debts, either the domestic debts it has accumulated or its debts to its creditors. In view of the latest lengthy and tense budget debate, it has become clear that a budget deficit that exceeds 20 billion forints would make our economy lose its solvency—that is, would lead to a situation in which the standard of living would not only deteriorate but also collapse, and it would be impossible for industry, agriculture, and services to function.

One does not have to be an economic expert to know what any average reader knows—namely, that the income of a given economy comes from three sources: its performance, the population, or from foreign credits. Let us deal with each of these sources. Our economic performance is well known, and for years it has been unable to compensate to the desirable extent for the increasing debt burdens and the costs of development. However, our debts have reached a critical point and, we reasonably cannot think of using further credits to cover our budget deficit. We must honestly admit that the only way left for us is to rationally reduce public spending and the incomes of the population. There are no other usable sources under the current circumstances.

We are aware of the opinions of the alternative movements and we are also aware of the firm goals of the government program for economic development. Therefore, we stress that savings can also compensate for certain missing sources. Part of these savings can be achieved by cutting down on our defense spending and by reducing the state apparatus and the support provided to public institutions. The government included this in its budget (let us again remember that parliament has considerably extended the sphere of such budget reductions). Therefore, a responsible account says the following: The economy can now compensate for a substantial part of the missing sources by cutting down on subsidies and by drastically reducing the income of the population.

There is no other way. Only this is possible in the prevailing historical situation, even if certain opinions are urging even greater savings by halting a number of large-scale investments (the Bos-Nagymaros river barrage, Tengiz, and so on.) According to these opinions, we should not have to increase the price of milk by 40 percent, that of meat by 14 percent, and of bread by 16 percent. Anyone who claims this does not see that the aforementioned large-scale investments are already irreversible, and that we cannot sacrifice the future for the present by making all prospects disappear from the horizon. Therefore, what could we say to anyone who grows desperate and objects to the price increases?! We should tell him that realities precede emotions, and that the prevailing reality is that, from among all the possible alternatives, the political leadership and the government have tried to find the most acceptable solutions for society with great responsibility and care. The government considered all the alternatives, and one can clearly state that this intention and the emerging solution will create conditions for economic stabilization. If society is able to soberly accept these realities, it will be able to overcome this extremely difficult period of time that equally burdens our policy and our people.

The government's intention is to make sure that the increase in consumer prices in 1989 cannot exceed that of 1988. This depends on several factors: economic performance, consumption, the implementation of strict financial and budgetary practices, and developments in foreign market. We can hardly influence the latter, but we can affect the other factors all the more. Now, when we are facing the disappointingly high level of price increases, we should be aware of what we are paying for with this increase in prices: Obviously, we are paying for a previous mistaken and dangerous economic policy—this is not the place to describe this policy in detail—namely, the fact that economic performance was permitted to deviate from society's requirements. Now the current price increases are almost creating an inevitable forced connection between real possibilities and consumption.

When we mention the government's intention, we should know that we will only be able to achieve our goal—namely, to stop a further drastic deterioration of our standard of living—if we fiercely stick to the aforementioned three conditions, and if society supports its government in implementing its strict savings program, reducing budget subsidies, and eliminating the unjustified redistribution of public incomes. Among other things, this also requires a consistent pricing policy, one that makes sure that producers of consumer goods do not receive large subsidies (meat, milk production) and that

the budget is not forced to provide billions of forints to maintain services. (For example, milk that now cost 40 percent more is still being subsidized to the tune of 2 forints per liter.)

Over the years, the increasingly distorted pricing system not only hinders a clear view of the situation, but it also disturbs the system of our economic values. For a man and a venture to consume and produce rationally, we should eliminate protectionism in our pricing system and free production from social limitations. Yes, for quite a while we have known that the moment of truth must come when it becomes clear how much a kg of bread, a streetcar ticket from home to work, and hot water really cost. Without this, it is impossible to count, work, and calculate wages honestly, and engage in economic activity or build the future. Prices should be close to reality: This is the starting point of an economy that wants to renew itself.

Indeed! Will it comfort us if we know why our money is worth less after 9 January? No, it will not comfort us. At most—and we must hope this—it will help our society draw the uneasy but direction-giving conclusions with which, at long last, we will approach the road leading to economic stabilization. Like any medicine, this price increase is bitter. However, just like medicine, it can help cure us. Therefore, we should accept it.

MSZMP Spokesman Discusses Party, Pluralism

AU2201175689 Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 13-15 Jan 89 p 7

[Interview with MSZMP spokesman Laszlo Major by Pawel Lewandowski: "We Are Not Looking for Opponents"; date, place not given]

[Text] [Lewandowski] Until recently, you were the Hungarian ambassador to Uruguay, but then General Secretary Karoly Grosz invited you to assume the post of party spokesman.

[Major] I had 5 minutes to make up my mind.

[Lewandowski] The party got by without a spokesman for so many years, so why all of a sudden can it not?

[Major] The May party conference decided that the MSZMP would act according to the principle of openness and would hide nothing from the people. Prior to this, society did not receive accurate information about the functioning of the party. Not even party members knew everything. For example, the Central Committee did not know exactly what the Politburo was doing, and primary party organizations were even less informed. Therefore, it was decided to create a system of spokesmen and to alter the information policy. Today we are reporting in the press on party conferences, Central Committee plenums, and Politburo sessions. Whenever something important happens, we invite domestic and foreign journalists to meet with members of the party leadership, which I am sure you are aware of.

[Lewandowski] So society is well-informed. However, does it accept party policies?

[Major] Elections or a referendum would answer that question, but I think most Hungarians support the party policy that has been pursued since May 1988. That does not mean we believe the myth whereby Hungarian society is united. We have also realized that we have our opponents. Pluralism has existed for a long time, but it is only in the past few months that it has come to the fore. This is not a tragedy. We are ready to hold talks with newly emerged groups who respect the basic reality.

[Lewandowski] What reality do you mean?

[Major] Hungary belongs to the socialist camp, and only within a socialist framework can Hungary function. Therefore, ownership relations must confirm this truth. We can discuss any other issue, but not this one.

[Lewandowski] All right, Hungarian politicians know what they want, but how does the average party member feel? Does he know how to find his way through the jumble of new social and political organizations and associations? For example, would he know whether or not he should join one?

[Major] Let me give an example. The New March Front, which emerged in 1988, includes party members. Politburo member Rezso Nyers, among others, belongs to it. However, the party, as far as other organizations such as FIDESZ [Union of Young Democrats] or the Hungarian Democratic Forum are concerned, as long as these have their own programs, then the party will not support the idea of its members belonging to them.

[Lewandowski] How many people belong to the New March Front?

[Major] It is difficult to say, because it is not an organization in the full sense of the word. The Front has no inclination to become a party. It is a debating club, a forum for exchanging thoughts.

[Lewandowski] Nevertheless, are you not afraid that it might become a party faction and cause a split in the party?

[Major] There is no such danger. One cannot consider the New March Front to be a faction because it also consists of nonparty people. It is purely a platform for the discussion of the most important problems of the state.

However, we are wondering how to prevent the emergence of party factions. Right now, the Central Committee and Politburo are working on a concept of platforms

of discussion in the MSZMP. The point is to create the possibility for party members holding different views to form into groups before any decision is made. After the decision, those members who found themselves in the minority would not be permitted to reveal their stance to the outside world. These platforms would make their views known inside the party only, and not on the street. Now we are wondering how to publicize inside the party the views of individual platforms on a particular issue. The concept is not ready yet, but we believe that these platforms would be a valuable tool of democracy inside the party.

[Lewandowski] Karoly Grosz said that Hungarian cities are more restless than rural areas, and that young people are more nervous than other social strata. Surely this is not just because of the difficult economic situation.

[Major] It is true that new organizations are emerging mainly in Budapest and larger Hungarian cities. The provinces are more conservative. Their inhabitants have a cool approach toward FIDESZ or the Hungarian Democratic Front. They say that these are "urban" or "bourgeois" ideas. The new organizations are being formed mainly by young people and the intelligentsia. Students are genuinely worried about the future of higher education, which possesses a modest material base. However, they also involve themselves in politics. They have left KISZ and have started to form new groups. In any case, KISZ, too, has become more energetic, and it is seeking various paths of accord with the new organizations. The National Council of Hungarian Youth Unions (MISZOT) was formed recently. We are not worried about young people indulging in politics. Only a fringe of these people holds extremist views, as is always the case in times of transition, so there is no reason for fear. On the contrary, we should be pleased that young people are interested in politics. After all, they will govern the country in 10 years' time, and they have to learn somewhere.

[Lewandowski] Sociologists believe that the MSZMP is getting old, and that young people are not too keen to join it.

[Major] I do not know where sociologists get their information from. Between September 1987 and September 1988, about 70,000 young people joined the MSZMP, which now has 800,000 members. Many pensioners aged from 55 to 70, who did not want to pay their membership dues, left it. Many members of the intelligentsia also left, but perhaps that is just as well, because they were probably in the party just to make a career, expecting to hold senior posts. We notice that more women and young people have been joining the party since last May's party conference.

[Lewandowski] Is there an organized opposition to the authorities in Hungary?

[Major] We are not seeking opponents by force. We gave up trying to identify enemies at every step a long time ago. Of course, there are a few opponents, but one can meet people like this everywhere. There is a temporary situation in Hungary; there is a party-inspired process of making political and economic life more democratic. We want to hold discussions with all elements of a pluralist society. We believe that the new forces that have emerged can only help in reforming the state. A democratic society contains more energy than a society in which a lot of things are kept secret. We have simply reached the same conclusions as the Poles: that there can be no economic reform without changes to the political system.

[Lewandowski] In Poland, the opposition has penetrated the factories, while in Hungary it probably has not done so. Is this correct?

[Major] That is not the only difference between our countries. I could mention other differences, but it is not my business to comment on internal Polish affairs. I think we began to reform the economy just in time, before it reached a critical point. That is why opponents did not have the chance and time to penetrate the factories. Workers have confidence in the MSZMP.

[Lewandowski] However, there were strikes by miners and printers last year.

[Major] Of course there were certain moments of dissatisfaction in certain regions and economic sectors. The mining and metal industries are experiencing a crisis. In Ozd and Gyor, the future looks uncertain to the people there, and they are afraid of the restructuring of the economy. However, these are local phenomena, not nationwide.

[Lewandowski] Do you expect the trade unions, which are becoming more and more energetic, to spring a few political surprises on the party?

[Major] The trade unions should not meddle in politics. They have other tasks. This principle also holds true in the West. We do not expect political surprises from them. They are unlikely to indulge in politics.

[Lewandowski] New, independent trade unions of teachers, printers, and academic workers have begun to emerge out of the traditional unions.

[Major] However, they are not carrying out political activity, either. They are protecting the interests of workers.

[Lewandowski] You describe the present time as transitional, but is it known for certain where these changes are leading to? What will Hungary be like in a few years' time?

[Major] We will present a strategic program at the 14th party congress in 1990 or 1991, but we have already worked out a few features of the future. We already have the tactics and strategy. We want to implement a so-called democratic package consisting of about 30 important measures. A law on economic companies has already been passed; this week our parliament commenced examining the law on associations and the right to strike; and a law on the establishment and activity of political parties has been worked out. Amendments will be made to the Constitution, and in 2 years' time, work on a completely new constitution will begin. The new constitution will not be declarative like the present one, which dates from 1940. We are also considering changes to the electoral system, a parliamentary reform, and the creation of the office of president.

[Lewandowski] Hungarians are talking more and more about a multiparty system.

[Major] I doubt if that is the most important matter. In any case, we are not to form any new party from the top. If the masses want one, they should form one spontaneously. The May party conference said that a one-party system will continue in Hungary. This is a political decision that has no legal consequences because our law permits the emergence of other parties.

[Lewandowski] Of course, pluralism does not have to mean many parties. Whichever way one looks at pluralism, it must involve a partial curb on the MSZMP's power. The MSZMP would thus have to surrender certain spheres of influence. Do you think party members are ready for this?

[Major] I can imagine that one day they will share power with another socialist party. However, every political force in Hungary must accept our country's geographical situation, and accept the fact that over the space of 40 years a system has developed from which there is no escape. There is not the slightest doubt that most people would not agree to a restoration of capitalism. The time has come when the MSZMP must once again become a political party, not an administrative one, a party which knows how to win elections. We believe it is capable of this, otherwise we would not be talking in this building.

[Lewandowski] Thank you.

Other Parties Want MSZMP To Repay Funds

LD2401033889 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 23 Jan 89

[Text] Our correspondent Zsuzsa Ladanyi now reports on a happening in Szeged which is now taking place and which will continue tomorrow as well:

[Ladanyi] The Szeged representatives of the alternative organizations—that is, the FIDESZ [Federation of Young Democrats], the Korgaz Club, the Hungarian Democratic Forum, and the Alliance of Free Democrats—began to collect signatures early this afternoon in the city of Szeged. In the document they want people to sign they protest, I quote, "against the confiscation of the people's property by the MSZMP and KISZ." They call upon the city council to take resolute measures to have the MSZMP repay the 53.9 million forints, with the appropriate amount of interest, which was used to design the party headquarters in Komocsin Square, and to give it to the city council's housing renewal fund.

They also urge resolute action to return the county youth educational center to public ownership, and that it should be in the care of the city council. A social youth commission should immediately be formed to decide how the center will be used.

The collecting of signatures will continue tomorrow in Szeged.

PPF Congress To Reevaluate Front's Role

LD2401024189 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1830 GMT 23 Jan 89

[Text] The Ninth PPF National Congress will be held in the 1st half of October in Budapest. This was announced today at a PPF conference in Balatonaliga. Gabor Halasi reports:

[Halasi] Where does the People's Front movement stand, and where does it want to go? Briefly, this is the guiding thread of the 3-day consultation that Secretary General Istvan Huszar addressed this afternoon. He added that it would be the most important issue before the congress. For example, the PPF's character has to be reevaluated, i.e. whether the basic institution of socialist pluralism—the coalition framework of the multiparty system—is a political grouping or a community of citizens.

Organizational renewal is necessary. The PPF envisages a transfusion of new blood, partly by an increase of independence for the committees and partly by new elections for every organ.

An important question here is what will be the proportion of party members to those outside the party; and as a written document is formulated, what will their relationship be? In the present situation, the PPF must carry out a dialogue with the new alternative organizations, participate in drawing up a constitution, and participate in elaborating the new electoral law.

Glasnost Club Organizes Monitoring Committee

LD2301211289 Budapest MTI in English 1906 GMT 23 Jan 89

[Text] Budapest, January 23 (MTI)—The Glasnost Club has set up a monitoring committee to follow closely press publicity, and to disclose possible irregularities, it was announced at the club's press conference on Monday in Budapest. It was stated that an examination was carried

out last week of the weekly 'REFORM', which calls itself an 'independent democratic news magazine', and which awarded the title 'Reform Man of the Year' to party General Secretary Karoly Grosz, second place going to Minister of State Imre Pozsgay, and third place to Zoltan Kiraly, MP, under its competition of the same title.

According to a report received, the weekly did not award the title 'Reform Man of the Year' according to the number of votes that arrived. The person who compiled the report—one of the editors of the periodical—also noted that the order did not accord with reality. On the basis of an investigation by the club, the acting board termed this to be unethical, and misleading to readers. At the same time, they added they cannot prove the intentional, or accidental, nature of the events. (The editorial office of 'REFORM', however, continues to consider the final results as valid. They acknowledge that the competition was not a professional public opinion poll, something they never stated.)

Representatives of the Glasnost Club also made public their position with respect to the raising of newspaper and periodical prices. In their view, the price hike did not change the economic structure of newspaper publishing, and a few large periodical-issuing companies continue to rule the field, and the subsidy system that reflects power interests continues to be in force. In their view, newspaper distribution should be placed in a competitive situation. They call for the liberalization of paper import and propose that the publication of professional periodicals be supported by foundations, that the government and the interest protection bodies agree only on minimal wages when determining the wages of journalists, and that the actual wage be determined by the profits of the newspaper.

It was announced at the press conference that a permit for the official launching of the publication 'PARLIAMENTARY REPORTS' has been granted.

At the press conference, MTI was criticized for not ensuring publicity recently to an appeal and a protest. The former called for a uniform stand against the law on strikes, and the creation of an economic constitutional court, whilst the latter was a protest over an identification by police and the measures taken.

Several dailies were also criticized for not publishing the appeals of certain organizations.

In this context, MTI, the Hungarian news agency, finds it necessary to state: "MTI is aware of its responsibility towards the entire Hungarian mass media. It does not strive for news monopoly. In the interest of the authenticity of the news service, it mainly provides news from its own sources, and does not undertake simply to forward the communiques and appeals it receives to its editorial offices. It publishes communiques and appeals in a concise, edited format which faithfully reflects their content".

Growing E. European Ties With S. Korea Noted

LD2501225489 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 25 Jan 89

[Text] South Korea would like to conclude a cultural agreement with Hungary and with other East European states as well. Apart from this, Seoul also is planning to sign an air services agreement with our country. One news item relating to the Soviet-South Korean rapprochement is that a Soviet expert will discuss in South Korea the expansion of trade, the founding of mixed enterprises, and the creation of a Siberian fish-processing plant.

PZPR 10th Plenum Resolution Outlined

AU2401150489 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 21-22 Jan 89 p 3

["Tenth PZPR Central Committee Plenum Resolution"]

[Text] 1. The continuation of socialist renewal requires a far-reaching reform of the PZPR. The Central Committee will resolutely work to institute changes in the tasks, structure, and operations of the party that will enable the party to effectively perform its role in a pluralist society and under socialist market economy conditions. These tasks will only be met by a party which has a clear ideological identity and political orientation and possesses a program for the socialist development of Poland that enjoys public approval; a party which draws on the best traditions of the Polish people and represents the interests of all working people, with the workers class occupying a leading place among them; and a party which is united on fundamental issues, a mass party which is democratic internally and acts effectively.

2. The Central Committee approves the directions of change in the party that are contained in the Politburo theses. The Central Committee affirms its confidence in and support for Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski, the first secretary, and for the party leadership, which, it believes, will ensure that the decisions adopted at the plenum will be effectively implemented.

3. In line with the essence of its program, the PZPR is striving to create a modern form of socialism in Poland. The path leading to this involves the realization of socialism's fundamental goals and values in the socioeconomic, political, and spiritual life of the nation. They include: humanism, man's well-being, his needs and aspirations; productive, well-organized work as the basic source of man's existence and his self-fulfillment; social justice, viewed as equality with respect to opportunities and standards, with the quality and efficiency of work being the highest standard; democracy, expressed through civic participation in the exercise of government and openness in public life; the socioeconomic, political, and spiritual aspects of human and civil rights; freedom, understood as the creation of scope for initiative and the diversity of human aspirations in the economy, politics, and science, and culture; patriotism, confirmed by work and a feeling of responsibility for the fatherland, the people, and the state; internationalism, expressed through bonds of solidarity with the forces of progress, democracy, and socialism, as well as respect for the rights and separate character of other states and peoples.

4. The Central Committee emphasized that the socioeconomic and political guarantees for these values must be: the dominant role of social ownership in the economy, confirmed by increasingly higher efficiency; the fulfillment of the leading role of the workers class in alliance with the peasants and the intelligentsia; the institutional role and status of a party that is constantly and actively affirming its mandate to lead society through democratic mechanisms and an alliance with the entire Polish left; and Poland's permanent place in an alliance with the USSR and in the entire community of socialist states.

5. The PZPR believes that it has a particular duty to increase the public character of state ownership; to fully restore to the cooperative movement its public essence; to increase the role of employee self-management bodies in implementing the economic reform and in making enterprises more efficiency-oriented; and to strengthen the role of working people as active agents and step up their influence in the management process. While supporting the development of initiative and enterprise in all sectors and advocating freedom for economic activity that is socially useful, the party is and will remain the champion of the fundamental, long-term interests of working people, of strengthening the principle of distribution according to the results of work, and ensuring that there is a widespread feeling of social security.

6. The Politburo is firmly in favor of eliminating the remnants of the centralized and bureaucratic system of administering political and economic power that evolved during the Stalinist period.

7. The Central Committee deems it imperative to provide political and moral recompense for all the victims of Stalinist lawlessness. It instructs the Politburo to undertake initiatives and activities toward this end.

8. The PZPR—in conjunction with its allies—is striving to create a sociopolitical system in Poland whose cornerstones are civic society and a state based on socialist parliamentary democracy. It is striving to strengthen democracy and guarantees for the observance of the rule of law, and to make the Sejm and people's councils—elected on the basis of a democratic electoral code—perform the role of authentic centers of state power. It is in favor of a clear division of responsibility and activity, as well as a balance between the legislative, executive, and judicial authorities; the strengthening of government responsibility toward the Sejm, and of regional administrative organs toward people's councils; and a high regard for the law.

The PZPR recognizes the need to take account of the pluralism of interests and aspirations, and to expand the coalition exercise of power through ensuring a place for the opposition that respects and acts within the framework of the constitutional order. It will work to expand forms that facilitate the expression of the sovereignty of every citizen, occupational group, and community; to create opportunities for the autonomous realization of Poles' diverse goals and aspirations; to promote the existence of associations; to respect civic initiatives; and, at the same time, to strengthen unity in settling issues of the highest importance for the people and the state.

9. We are in favor of expanding the tripartite coalition consisting of the PZPR, the ZSL, and the SD. The cornerstone of this coalition is alliance and partner-like collaboration; respect for partners' ideological and political sovereignty; and the joint formulation and implementation of programs for the country's socioeconomic and cultural development.

Along with its allies, the PZPR is cooperating with catholic and lay christian associations, nonparty advocates of the reforms, working people's organizations and associations, and with everyone grouped around PRON's program platform. The Central Committee is in favor of, at the same time, expanding national accord and creating an extensive reform-oriented coalition in Poland that is responsive to various views and standpoints, including opposition ones, and unites all those who are striving to lead the country out of crisis and want to act, while maintaining respect for the law and the Polish raison d'etat.

10. The Central Committee stresses the need to increase the influence on cadre policy of all partners in the broad, proreform coalition. It advises all party organizations to broaden the public dimension in the selection and evaluation of managerial personnel in the state and the economy and to find methods, appropriate to the new challenges that exist, for the promotion of talented individuals who are innovative, creative, and determined.

11. The Central Committee states most emphatically that effectiveness in solving the problems of the younger generation and its active involvement in reforming the state and the economy will determine the future of the nation and the state. We consider the following to represent the most important tasks pertaining to youth policy at the present time:

—the attainment of a consensus about the main, common goals of the patriotic education of the younger generation—in the school, in social organizations and associations, at the workplace, and in churches and religious associations;

—the creation of conditions for the active participation and influence of young people in public life, in the realization of their aspirations and needs, and in the elimination of obstacles that block or hinder their occupational and political advancement;

—support for prosocialist organizations and initiatives among young people through maintaining an open attitude toward new forms of activity geared toward promoting positive forms of active involvement by young people in public life.

12. In accordance with the new concept of its role and place as a political and ideological force in the state and the economy, the PZPR consciously renounces acting as a substitute for organs of state power and for administration and management. It realizes future goals and current tasks through the activities of its members in all state, economic, and social units and institutions and by making use of the mechanisms for political and parliamentary evaluation, and for inspecting units of the government and the administration.

13. Guided by the principles of humanism and conducting activity based on a scientific and rational view of the world, the PZPR is striving to strengthen tolerance and freedom of conscience in society. It considers religious convictions to be a private matter for its members. The basis for membership of the PZPR is acceptance of its ideological and political program and statute. It considers political clericalism in terms of attitudes and actions to be incompatible with membership of the party. The 11th PZPR Congress will decide about the way in which these issues are ultimately to be dealt with in program and statute form.

14. The Central Committee believes that a more effective, practical implementation of the principles of democratic centralism is of key significance for the reform of the party: This means a maximum amount of democracy in searching for the content of programs, in discussions and debates, and a maximum amount of discipline and effectiveness in conducting activity and implementing the resolutions and decisions that are adopted.

15. The Central Committee recommends the widespread adoption of mechanisms and forms of internal party work that would stimulate thinking and facilitate the articulation of different ideas before decisions are made. It instructs party committees to initiate activity on the part of political clubs, centers for sociopolitical thought, associations that have a left-wing ideological standpoint, and the creation of press forums. Party committee headquarters should become centers for meetings with people from various communities and organizations, and with young people and party veterans in particular.

16. The Central Committee instructs all echelons to observe the principle that draft decisions, especially on important matters, should be the product of extensive debate within the party and consultations with nonparty members. It suggests that consideration should be given to the appropriateness of establishing the institution of the referendum in internal party practice. At the same time, once a resolution is adopted, party members are bound to show unity, consistency, and discipline in implementing it.

17. The party recognizes that changes in the party require:

—the more consistent implementation of the decisions adopted at the fourth Central Committee plenum on strengthening the role and status of primary party organizations, especially workers primary party organizations, which are the cornerstones of the party;

—greater initiative and independence on the part of primary party organizations in developing the content and organizational forms of their work. The Central Committee instructs party echelons and committees to provide primary party organizations with comprehensive assistance. The criteria for evaluating the work of party committees will be raised with respect to these duties;

—the elimination of bureaucratic practices in the running of the party and the strengthening of the role and independence of primary level committees. The Central Committee recommends a radical curtailment of the transmission of instructions downward and more extensive use of the signals and opinions that "float to the top from below";

—the application of a fully democratic mechanism for instituting personnel changes as well as a system for selecting the party's leadership aktiv; linking elections in the party to competition with respect to styles and methods of activity and to the presentation of different concepts for the implementation of the party program and party policy;

—an increased level of ideological activity and a thorough reorganization of the internal party education system.

18. The Central Committee resolutely stresses that primary organizations—the party's front line—are, will remain, and will continue to act in the workplace. They should participate in the formulation of party policy and decide about its implementation. Their basic responsibility is to combine higher efficiency and greater innovativeness on the part of enterprises with the principles of social justice and with sensitivity to people's problems. Workplace party organizations should exercise an active influence on the creation of conditions for the development of enterprise managerial personnel, see to it that professional skills are combined with social and educational skills, and seek to create an appropriate environment for inventors and people involved in rationalizing production, to ensure that efficient use is made of their achievements and that the most productive employees are appropriately rewarded materially and morally;

The Central Committee instructs voivodship committees to make full use of existing opportunities and to rapidly implement new organizational measures that will increase the activity conducted by party members in their places of residence.

19. The Central Committee, considering it imperative to strengthen the primary role of party committees with respect to executive organs and the apparatus, recommends:

—increasing the role of Central Committee members in the decisionmaking process;

—organizing regular meetings, between plenary sessions, of smaller groups of Central Committee members on a regional or branch basis; realizing the rights of Central Committee members to announce candidates for important party and state functions, and increasing the role of commissions in preparing and supervising the implementation of the decisions that are adopted;

—giving most Central Committee meetings more of a working character;

—ensuring that Politburo and Secretariat work is more effective;

—reducing to the essential minimum the involvement of heads of state administrative units in the executive organs of party committees;

—instituting changes in the organization and functioning of the party's cadre of political personnel. Improving their responsible and necessary work for the party calls for higher professional, and ideological and social skills; organizational changes, particularly changes pertaining to a transition from branch to functional structures; and combining the activities of the professional apparatus with those of the party's social aktiv more closely, which also applies to the work of Central Committee commissions and its cadre of political employee. Proposals for realizing these goals, especially those that apply to the structure of commissions and the Central Committee's executive apparatus, will be submitted by the Politburo for approval at the next plenary session.

20. The Central Committee advises party committees to make fuller use of statutory opportunities for organizing horizontal links, and for cooperation and the exchange of experience between party organizations and communities—in cases in which activity of this kind extends beyond statutory provisions, it will be conducted on an experimental basis. The Central Committee advises party organizations, echelons, and committees to search for and institute innovative methods for the party to exercise its role. It instructs the Politburo to systematically assess and institute solutions that prove their worth.

21. The Central Committee upholds the stance of the sixth Central Committee session on there being no obstacles for those who left during the 1980's to return to the PZPR if they have not been disloyal to the principles of the party program and the party's ethical requirements through their actions. It advises party committees to launch an initiative of this kind in relation to all those who deserve to return to our ranks.

22. The Central Committee emphasizes that the realization of long-term program goals and far-reaching changes in the party's internal life and its way of acting should be linked to the resolution of today's most important economic and political questions. They include:

—introducing economic reforms and, in particular, tailoring production to suit the needs of the population, improving the supply of consumer goods, and curbing inflation in line with the plan for the consolidation of the national economy;

—making income policy more rational, and introducing a strict regime of economies in all areas of state and economic life;

—resolutely eliminating the speculative exploitation of market weaknesses, seizingincome which is not earned honestly, and combating corruption, deceit, dishonesty, and the abuse of one's position for material gain. This calls for, among other things, more efficient professional and public control, and greater efficiency on the part of the Worker-Peasant Inspectorate in particular.

—creating efficient and effective forms of social welfare protection; ensuring that a sense of social security is felt by those who are unable to create appropriate conditions for themselves through work;

—defining—in accordance with the requirements of national accord—the principles for an amended electoral code; the commencement by all party units of political preparations for the Sejm elections which will be a test of the party's maturity and strength;

—disseminatingthe results of the Third Nationwide Theoretical and Ideological Conference in the party's ideological work;

—continuing of preparations for the National Delegate Conference in the entire party.

23. The Central Committee entrusts the PZPR Central Committee Ideological Commission and the team responsible for preparations for the Third Nationwide Theoretical and Ideological Conference with the task of formulating draft changes to the PZPR program and entrusts the Central Committee Internal Affairs Commission with the task of formulating draft changes to the PZPR Statute. The Central Committee is in favor of the formulation of alternative proposals to these changes. They should be submitted for discussion by the party as a whole. The results of the discussion will be examined at the 11th party congress.

24. The Central Committee instructs the Politburo to rapidly undertake essential organizational, coordinating, control, and program-related decisions and activities, with the aim of efficiently and consistently implementing the decisions and course of activity set out in this resolution. The Politburo will provide information on the decisions that are made and on matters relating to responsibility, means, and dates for their implementation at the next Central Committee session, and periodic reports on the work that is undertaken will be submitted at future Central Committee sessions.

Leaders Deliver Speeches at Plenum, Offer Views

Miller Gives Address

AU2001135289 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 18 Jan 89 p 3

[Speech by Leszek Miller, Central Committee secretary, at the second part of the 10th PZPR Central Committee Plenum in Warsaw on 18 January]

[Text] Our reform experience so far applies mostly to the political and economic sphere, and the picture of social changes frequently disappears from our field of vision. The party's social surroundings have been changing for many years. We are recording not only changing attitudes and relationships toward the party, but also increasingly bolder and more effective civic initiatives. These frequently meet society's needs halfway, and lead to their fulfillment.

Unfortunately, the party too often performs a marginal role in this process. Does it have to be that way? Should we not find a place for ourselves not only in reforming the state and economy, but also in implementing civic initiatives?

We must define our place in a qualitatively new way; not by proclaiming our leading role, but by establishing methods and mechanisms by means of which we can help in the implementation of various initiatives. However, this calls for not only structural changes, but also a different philosophy of action. A sensitivity and openness toward the changes taking place in the party's social surroundings should determine the party's functioning.

All those who devote their energies, hearts, and minds, and do not agree to being treated like social scapegoats, have to be considered our friends and allies, even when these feelings are not fully reciprocated. Also, one must not forget the motives of those who are absent from social life. Their absence does not always mean that they are indifferent or even hostile. Their absence is frequently the result of disappointment because of broken promises and unfulfilled forecasts, and because they are convinced that the organizational forms of our society do not contain many possibilities and cannot be effective.

The associations movement, for the development of which a legislative framework is being formed, may be a major factor in liberating civic initiative. It may bring a socialism of civic and self-management democracy closer to reality, in accordance with the words of the classicist who said that it is not the state that cements civic life, but civic life cements the state.

A development of social life is essential at a time when we are proceeding from a nationalized society to a socialized state. I wish to make it clear that anything that does not clash with the socialist state's social order should be supported by our party cells. Party support for social initiatives will increase our strength in society.

Young people are a mirror that reflects all our good and bad qualities. What is happening among young people is a reflection of what is happening among their adult supervisors. Conflicts and divisions among adults are transferred to young people, just like the entire socioeconomic reality is. Young people's problems cannot be resolved while ignoring the country's situation.

Today, several people have mentioned the meeting in the depths of the Central Committee, as one comrade called it. Various meetings in basements and catacombs throughout history have frequently led to interesting philosophies and

social movements. For me, this meeting was valuable because, first of all, it met with a social echo. I have been receiving a great deal of letters, some of which say that I am an idiot to have organized this meeting. The authors say that proper young people would never have come to such a meeting, and insist that those who did come were General Kiszczak's agents. Other letters say that that was the first time that young people had been invited to that accursed Central Committee building.

However, most of the letters approve of this idea and suggest new solutions. These letters include ones which express disgust at the fact that some of the young people denounced our entire 40 years of work. Who brought this people up, and according to what models?

The other reason why I found this meeting interesting was that it included a group of young party members from Warsaw University who had held a public debate with hardline students. These comrades come from a college where a party membership card is a passport to nowhere, especially not to a career. For many, a party card is merely a burden. Such an attitude merits respect, and should be emulated. In today's reality, we have to compete for young people's trust and support. This involves support not just for us ourselves, but for a new shape of socialism as well; support not simply for the preservation of socialism in a conservative form, which does not mean that it will survive, but support for its development. It means support not just for stabilization, but for a constant search for new and better solutions. In a word, it means support for Poland's success.

We support anything that serves to strengthen the socialist state and condemn anything that hampers Poland's development. Every attempt to weaken Poland must meet with our condemnation. The socialist state is too serious to be made a mockery of. There should be a struggle, but this struggle should employ arguments, not stones. If anyone goes out into the street in order to destroy, and if he wants to destroy the economy and socialism, he runs the risk of being destroyed himself.

What I am saying is bitter, but the truth is that out of every 100 steps we make, only 10 of them will be noticed. Working with the young elite, people who formulate opinions, restless souls, prize winners in various contests, inventors, leaders, and talented people demands a lot of energy. There is no shortage of talented people, but there is a shortage of people capable of appreciating and using these talents.

Apart from a lack of time, the way we approach young people is the second shortcoming in our relationships with them. It is not enough to speak honestly. One must also speak in a way that will be understood. We say: Be impatient. Yet at the same time, we believe that patience is a virtue. We say: Fight the stagnation. However, at the same time, we stress the value of stability. We talk about the need to adopt an informal approach toward various movements and organizations, but at the same time we attempt to make them formal because inside us there is a longing to live in a formal and organized world. We have to decide in what kind of language and in what way we are to talk to young people.

As far as detailed issues are concerned, there are three areas which require from us a clear explanation of our political desire. The first area is young people's participation in public life and in the exercising of authority (also inside the party). The second area is young people's advancement, and the third area is clear progress in housing construction. Unfortunately, these problems are not new, but we have still not achieved any measurable progress in solving them.

In all these issues, we are not concerned with creating preferences and concessions, but with creating equal chances and bringing down barriers. Instead of permanently perfecting young people, we have to assure them of the possibility of a place at the decisionmaking table and place technical and propaganda resources at their disposal.

Anyone who does not want to see young people sitting next to us is leading us to political suicide. Instead of permanently wondering whether a particular person is capable of assuming responsibility, he should be given that responsibility. We should recognize the fact that an ability to solve problems and achieve successes is the only criterion in leadership, not age, seniority, or other formal restrictions.

Miller Views 10th Plenum

LD2201155489 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 22 Jan 89

[Interview with Leszek Miller, PZPR Central Committee secretary, with unidentified correspondent; place not given—live or recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] The proceedings of the 10th Central Committee plenum are the main topics of the week, as far as domestic affairs are concerned. We could probably also say that we are facing a great experiment which should succeed if we don't want Poland to become the sick man of Europe, as they used to say. We have asked Leszek Miller, Central Committee secretary, for an interview. One of the reasons we asked is because you, Comrade Secretary, recently became a member of the leadership and it has been said that restructuring in the party also means changing the people who are going to lead that party, that the party needs new strengths, new ways of seeing, new ideas.

[Miller] It was very gratifying to be elected precisely at the 10th plenum, as I think the 10th plenum is going to leave a permanent mark in our modern political history and the party history. Although I would like to emphasize that while this was a giant step, it was along the road which we have been steadily following since the ninth congress, that is—the road of searching for Polish socialism and profound political and economic reforms.

[Correspondent] Many people are wondering what kind of socialism we are building in Poland. As yet we don't seem to be formulating—at least that's what I think in respect of what is happening in the theoretical and ideological base of the Party—a model of socialism toward which we are striving. Presumably we still don't know too well what the end of this road, or this stage, which we have started on with the 10th Central Committee plenum is really going to look like.

[Miller] Every formation has the time of its birth, the time of its maturity and the time of its death. And in its place some new quality is created. We, I think, are at the beginning of this kind of road and I should emphasize that this is one possible road, that is, just like the socialism of the 30's was not the only possible road but one of many, so have we now entered one of the possible roads of development.

[Correspondent] But we all know that there are forces whom an offer of this kind, a proposal of this kind, does not suit in the least.

[Miller] Of course. There is no society where everyone thinks the same, loves everyone equally and so on and so forth. Poland is certainly no such society. The divisions do not run—as we sometimes hear—between the levels of authority, for example, between an enlightened center and a dismal intermediate level or the base that understands nothing. They run along interests, interests interpreted as the possibility of some people losing something and others gaining something. And those who are losing something manifest understandable resistance against the diminishing of their authority or their prestige, or, for example, their belief that fair means equal. Whereas those who are convinced that they are going to be able to live precisely in a fairer society, that the mechanisms which are going to exist will reward their involvement, are the allies of both economic and political reform.

[Correspondent] We indeed are a greatly diversified society with a highly contradictory group, or perhaps we might even say class, interests. And now, if we are proceeding toward political pluralism, lawful political pluralism, toward trade-union diversity, the question arises—where are the limits of this pluralism?

[Miller] The conception of a party which is its own opposition has not proved correct. It transpires than when you exercise a monopoly in the end that weakens the monopolist.

[Correspondent] It is hard to look at yourself critically.

[Miller] Of course. If in the economy we are proceeding clearly toward a market economy—with state economic interventionism, of course, but only economic—where healthy competitive forces are at work, we cannot say that we won't allow such mechanisms in politics, because that would be an insurmountable contradiction. In the light of this we need equally different views and an expression of these views, and opportunities for those who hold these different views to organize. Hence pluralism. What are the limits? This is what I think: It has to be an opposition against the authorities and the solutions but not one which aims to wreck the constitutional and political-system order. This concerns not just Poland's interests alone.

[Correspondent] I think that the proceedings of the 10th plenum have aroused significant feelings throughout the society but they were probably highest among party members. Do you, comrade secretary, not think that after the 10th plenum the party might feel somewhat weakened, since many members will perhaps feel disappointed by the position of the Central Committee plenum, perhaps threatened in their present attitudes, their way of thinking?

[Miller] We come across all sorts of arguments. Frankly, could it have been any different? These differences came out during the plenary proceedings. And I am not surprised by the different views. My impression is that frankly the party has come to life thanks to this, that it has heated up, even all the way to the point of boiling in some organizations, that we have achieved the effect for which we have been striving so often—a party which argues, which discusses things, which wants to fight, which shows an internal fervor.

On the other hand I assume that a certain number of party members is not going to accept these solutions, that they might leave the party. I think that every such instance has to be analyzed individually—there may be all kinds of reasons. But I think that in the verification which is now going to happen in practice, in the course of the implementation of the resolution, the party is going to grow in strength. It is going to grow in strength in the sense that the people who are going to make the effort for the implementation of the position, implementation of the resolution are going to be those who regard themselves to be strong and capable of taking up the struggle.

[Correspondent] The next few weeks and months are also going to be a period of heated debates on the matters of the functioning of the party. Ahead of us there is the theoretical and ideological conference. Also ahead is the national delegate conference.

[Miller] Especially as this kind of resolution and position that we have taken are not the end of the work. On the contrary—these decisions open up the necessity of carrying out enormous work. Usually at the end of a Central Committee plenum we used to say: And now we start implementing the resolution. I think that today we still have to say the same thing but in a somewhat different way. First we have to set about convincing everyone we can, inside the party as well, that these decisions are correct, because no one should expect that after the Central Committee plenary session these conflicting interests we have spoken about are going to disappear as

if at the touch of a magic wand. We have to convince our comrades, as well as all those who are not in the party but care about Poland's interests, that this is correct and to implement the resolution.

Miodowicz Makes Speech

AU1901171389 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 17 Jan 89 p 4

[Speech by Alfred Miodowicz, PZPR Politburo member and OPZZ chairman, at the second part of the 10th PZPR Central Committee Plenum in Warsaw on 17 January]

[Text] When asking about the origin of the PZPR and about the soil from which we sprung, many people forget where we come from and from whose aspirations we arose. After 44 years of work in their plants and institutions, and 44 years of ever-lengthening queues, working people tell us: You are not fulfilling these aspirations either.

Let me recall the 6th Central Committee plenum, a so-called workers plenum, 4 years ago. At that plenum, we said: "Let us remember that a departure from the recognized supremacy of workers' interests always leads to distortions in socialist construction." It turns out that we have short memories. At the 10th party congress 2 years ago, we said in our program: "The party chiefly expresses the political and social interests of working people." We also said: "We will safeguard the decisive participation of the working class in the exercising of authority and in the settlement of basic economic and social problems." We are not doing so today.

Without denying the progress achieved in making our lives more democratic over the past 2 years, it should be remembered that in the 10th congress resolution, we, as a ruling party, therefore as a party that bears responsibility, committed ourselves to: improving supplies of food and industrial commodities, achieving progress in housing construction, reducing inflation, improving health and environmental protection, creating a fair relationship between labor and wages, and improving the situation of labor veterans.

In all these affairs, we have internal political debts to settle. We worry a lot about foreign debts, and rightly, too. However, we are not so concerned about these domestic debts. The class trade unions are constantly repeating this fact. And I emphasize the word "class." We did not adopt this word as an ornament. Because of it, we are accused of social demagogy and of painting dark visions. And yet our party Academy of Social Sciences, in a work entitled "The Situation of the Workers Class in Poland," clearly indicates the increasing material, professional, social, cultural, medical, and political deprivation of the workers class. Our trade unionists say the same, and so do comrades in primary party organizations.

We are losing our own base. And look what is happening—in despair, we are seeking support among anyone who comes our way. This seeking of support is described as an expansion of the social base of government. We are seeking solutions in the form of anticrisis pacts and pro-reformist coalitions. We are trying to improve the situation by means of a "roundtable." All this is correct. These are beautiful ideas, and we should implement them in full for the sake of Poland. It is working people who need democracy the most, because they are ones who can feel its absence the most sharply.

That is why we are definitely and unanimously in favor of such democratic solutions. Our postulates go further than the ones that are raised during political disputes. We are in favor of the freedom of political, economic, and social activity. Only in these conditions can the social control over the authorities work. That is how we interpret pluralism.

However, there is one condition that must be fulfilled. The point of departure and point of reference should not be provided by intentions and slogans, but by an effective presentation and representation of the interests of working people. Only then will our representatives in all these coalitions and roundtables possess the democratic entitlement to really represent us. Unfortunately, so far there has only been talk of an accord between elites, between an elite of the authorities and an elite of the opposition. This is meant to achieve society's consent to a further tightening of the belt, among other things. And working people are saying that just like 100 years ago, today, too, we must undertake a struggle for a real, 8-hour working day.

We are experiencing a breakthrough. I think that the National Conference of PZPR delegates, convened in accordance with the party statute, in other words at the right time, should speak out on issues that are so fundamental for the system and for the future of Poland.

I wish to warn the party—I am sorry to use that word, but I cannot find another one—against ignoring the stance adopted by a representation of the Polish world of labor, the Third OPZZ Assembly, in Lodz 3 weeks ago.

This stance expresses a desire to preserve the unity of the world of labor and defend its interests. The assembly said that the principle of one enterprise, one trade union should serve this purpose. It is the trade unionists and work forces themselves who have to decide what kind of trade unions they will be and what kind of programs they will have. We never said that the existing trade union model must not undergo a radical change. We are not afraid of dialogue between workers. Let these issues be settled where they are supposed to be settled, in enterprises.

Let us not neglect the fact that our class trade unions number 7 million members and that almost 70 percent of them used to belong to "Solidarity." One cannot erase their decision to join the class trade unions.

We are told that the situation is changing. It is. Life is moving ahead. But the basic problems of the world of labor remain the same, and are even becoming more acute. That is why I repeat: These decisions and choices cannot be erased. That would mean a selling out of our trade union movement by the party. The sly trick that occurred in the summer of 1980 when, in the face of the workers protest, the party leadership blamed the trade unions for the so-called shortcomings of socialism will not be repeated. Eighteen months later, the state and party found themselves on the edge of the abyss.

At the same time, we must consider the feelings of those who have no room in the class trade unions. An expression of this consideration was the OPZZ Council's go-ahead to hold the TV debate. Talks have to be continued, and the trade unions must not be replaced by someone else. Finally, taking into account the views of the work forces involved, we should conduct experiments in selected enterprises. In other words, first we should gather positive experience, and then decide. The speed and extent of these changes should depend on social calm. First, however, it is necessary to resolve the difficult problem of political pluralism, and then the pressure applied to the trade union movement by political interests will ease.

The fact that the need to defend the endangered interests of the world of labor is once again on the agenda can be blamed on politics. We said this when we passed a vote of no confidence in the previous government. Therefore, the key lies in different politics.

A place of work is the worst place to hold a political battle. Therefore, we are in favor of work forces forming a single front when presenting their rights and interests, especially today, when a radical reform is surely entering our lives.

Let us say to ourselves in all honesty: the question of political, social, and trade union pluralism, the case of the so-called constructive opposition and our attitude toward it, and the difficult problem of the limits of historic compromise, are all derived from our strength or weakness as representatives of the interests of all the millions of Poles who live through honest work.

Do we want to be their party? Are we capable of that? Do we have the necessary political desire? Let the participants in the National Conference of PZPR Delegates answer these questions, after they have consulted their primary party organizations.

Gorywoda Speaks

AU1901173289 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 17 Jan 89 p 4

[Speech by Manfred Gorywoda, PZPR Politburo candidate member, at the second part of the 10th PZPR Central Committee Plenum in Warsaw on 17 January]

[Text] We are meeting today, enriched with the opinions of work forces and the masses of party members, and equipped with the broader arguments and deeper thoughts that are essential in order to reach strategic decisions.

Referring to the experience of the Katowice party committee and the opinions voiced by factory party committees, I wish to declare myself firmly in favor of the line of dialogue and accord, and in favor of changes to the state, the economy, and the party itself. The Katowice debate was dominated by the view that, in order to attain these objectives, we should act boldly, maintain the initiative, and support the leadership, but we should also heed our complex reality.

The debate stressed the need to oppose extreme views, irresponsible actions, and confrontational trends, everything that could interfere with the extinguishing of internal tensions. It is becoming increasingly obvious that the state and the people need accord, because that is the only thing that can bridge the gap between us and leading countries, and solve Poland's complex problems. Such a way of thinking is inconvenient for the anarchy-inspiring forces that are hostile to socialist Poland, forces that have a stronger feeling for their own parochial interests than for those of the nation.

One cannot hide the fact that many of our party members doubt that dialogue will be successful, because they do not trust their potential partners. After all, there has been and still is no shortage of demagogic attacks on the party or of raging anticommunism. In a situation like this, it is difficult to make cool, objective assessments. This state of affairs is the source of our fears that the justified initiatives aimed at making sociopolitical life more democratic are exceeding our possibilities and that the party is in danger of losing the ability to influence the development of socioeconomic processes. All this is also affecting our approach toward trade union pluralism. Views on this subject vary a lot and are subject to change. In our voivodship, too, most people are convinced of the need for one trade union, and perhaps one workers council, in each enterprise.

At the same time, however, many comrades see the possibility of trade union pluralism materializing in the foreseeable future, especially if a far-reaching national accord is reached. More and more people are saying that more than one trade union in an enterprise could even be desirable, provided that it brings about a constructive approach to the solving of factory problems.

People also say that we should not shut our eyes to reality and to the real balance of forces. At the same time, however, others say that recent experience calls for foresight, and that trade union pluralism can only be introduced if, first of all, there is an essential system of safeguards against destructive anarchic activity and efforts to transfer the political struggle to the factories.

The broad party debate has presented a picture of a party capable of meeting the current challenges. The call for a party capable of providing fresh impetus to our changes, a party able to analyze reality, create new processes, and consistently implement its programs and resolutions, has a loud resonance.

An emphasis is being placed on the need to effect the political and ideological integration of the party, not through avoiding disagreements and thorny issues, but through ideological discussion and the fostering of dialogue within the party, a kind of internal party "roundtable." However, we cannot allow this to mean that we lose mobility, that we melt away in the activities that are typical of associations and discussion clubs.

We want to remain a Leninist party that stands for the unity of the Polish workers movement, a mass party that has roots in every community and in workplaces in particular.

It is widely believed that principles, goals, and tenets must be set out clearly. Satisfying this requirement is, quite frankly, an essential condition for the unity of party ranks and the enhancement of the bond of ideology. That is also how this question is seen by those comrades who understand the need for adjustments to goals, tactics, and even party strategy in response to changes in the actual situation.

The condition of party organizations and the aktiv is not improved by the rush of information and radical shifts in our propaganda that have so often been a feature of recent times—this going from one extreme to another, and seeing things solely in black and white terms. We are often one-sided in our praise and one-sided in our criticism. This creates many misunderstandings in our ranks; it makes it difficult to determine what the real state of affairs is, what our party's assessment and interpretation of events is. This gives rise to may erroneous assessments, uncertainty, and indecision.

It is highly paradoxical that our party, which sets the direction of change and is behind the reform and renewal of life in our country, is, at the same time, often seen as conservative force. I think that, to a large extent, this also stems from the rush of information that I mentioned above. In saying this, I am not criticizing journalists, but suggesting that there is a need to create a more balanced and effective model of propaganda that would accurately convey and explain reality, which has a complex character.

We have to fight for the highest national interests, which our party embodies, and win by force of logic and sound argument. The dialogue that we want cannot mean humbly listening to hostile monologues and bowing to the demagogy of the enemy.

Are we ready for this as a party? I think that the answer is no, or at least not always and not everywhere. Thus, we have to prepare ourselves as quickly as possible. What we need are people who enjoy influence and are able to lead.

Changes in our party, even the very best ones, will not alter the broad mass of society's assessment of the effectiveness of our policies if we do not achieve tangible progress in the economy. In my opinion, there must be unambiguous support for efforts to speed up progress in this area and make action more radical.

However, at the same time, it is difficult not to indicate at least some of the fears that have been voiced in this context during the course of the most recent debate in the party. Are we going to manage to check the high inflation rate, which creates an uncertain existence for many people who live on what they earn by working? Will there not be a shortage of the basic goods that every family needs? Will we manage to prevent the danger of spiraling incomes, and income differences that are not warranted by the amount of work that people perform, and that run counter to a sense of social justice?

PAP Cites Other Speakers

LD1801014089 Warsaw PAP in English
0135 GMT 18 Jan 89

["Discussion at 10th PUWP CC Plenum (Abridged)"—PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 17—Following are some of the voices in the discussion at the 10th PUWP CC PLenary session today:

Barbara Jackowska, CC member, packer at the "Jantar" textile industry factory in Wejherowo, northern Poland:

We critically but constructively assessed the political Bureau's guidelines. They were said to meet social expectations half-way.

Each of us realizes that in today's socio-political conditions the radical reform of the PUWP is the necessity. The reevaluation of its role in the state and the economy will give a new shape to the model of socialism. It is also an important dictate for us that young generation should not have to look for luck abroad.

Jan Turzynski, CC member, PUWP Committee first secretary at the "Polkowice" mining enterprise in Polkowice, south-western Poland:

I might be taking an extreme stance in my statement but I would like to persuade Comrade Ciosek to thank Mr Walesa, who represents a certain group of people, for his further participation in the "round table" talks when Ciosek meets him in the nearest future. Let us start a talk with those who really want it.

It is also untrue that Western, highly developed countries do not want to talk with us without our recognition of Walesa. In fact, they not want to talk with us because they do not want to bring shame on their economic system. Since, who will be investing in such a state which thinks one can eat what one borrows from someone. One can neither buy another Japan nor receive it as a gift. One has to work out another Japan. This is what we must teach.

Jerzy Szmajdzinski, CC member, chairman of the Main Board of the Union of Polish Socialist Youth (ZSMP):

Today we can allow for institutionalization of many opposition groupings. A chance for keeping our guiding role depends on our ability to dominate representation of class interests of working people.

Socialist youth unions are changing and will continue to do so. I hope that their practical treatment will also be changing, that PUWP committees will not look askance at manifestations of independent thinking and political activity.

Jerzy Swiderski, CC member, of the PUWP CC Personnel Policy Department:

In a pluralistic political system, developing in our country, the party must be the driving force in the ideological meaning, following the principle of gaining support for its program.

If we agree with such a statement we should consistently, first, make broader use of democratic procedures in pursuing the personnel policy, second, boldly and consciously propose for managerial posts non-submissive people who are ill-disposed towards evil, disorder, impossibility, third, take into consideration in personnel evaluation, first and foremost, effectiveness, of activities and social effects of one's work.

Miroslaw Okrasa, CC member, turner and took setter at the "Pzl Hydral" hydraulics elements works in Wroclaw, south-western Poland:

Mass media confirm society's conviction that the party has done nothing good and is still unable to do so. They spread the allegation that only an agreement with the former "Solidarity" union could lead the country out of the crisis. Things are not this way.

The party, self-critical towards its activity, should no self-castigate itself at every step for guilts it has often not committed.

Bohdan Kolomyjski, CC member, managing director of the "Katowice" steel mill:

The question of trade union pluralism has triggered off a big controversy. Fears are being voiced over a possible escalation of demands aimed at winning supporters for our own trade union, and thus over anarchy and workers being set at odds. What gains approval, though, is the proposal to carry out national dialogue at the "round table," and it is thought that in a dialogue like this one could work out proper conditions for a gradual implementation of trade union pluralism. I come out for dialogue with the constructive opposition.

Wladyslaw Plewniak, member of the Central Audit-Control Commission, first secretary of the PUWP Voivodship Committee in Tarnow:

I am for a socialist trade union pluralism, for the best possible and full representation of working people before the employer, for their integration at work and for the unblocking, on these conditions, of the law on trade unions. for what matters is not trade unions' names and structures but their goals.

Czeslawa Romanowska, CC member, the Polish Pathfinders' Union commander in Augustow, Suwalki Voivodship:

To attack the apparatus has now become a fashion. It is the source of all evil. But one forgets to investigate the cause. The apparatus is the child of the Stalinist model of the party and we have been unable to change this model so far. If we repeat that one should reach back to roots, that one should radically transform our party, then let us begin to do it at last.

Zygmunt Czarzasty, PUWP CC Secretary:

I deeply identify myself with the draft of the 10th plenum's resolution and I come out for a pluralism of world outlooks.

I want to come out for and speak out today about political pluralism. The party's inspired developments, the government's prepared draft law on associations introduce political pluralism in the modern sense of this word.

I also come out in favour of the Political Bureau's position on trade union pluralism and I profoundly opt for it. Pluralism is a social need, but by no means a gesture on the part of the authority or the party. It simply constitutes the realization of workers' aspirations.

While speaking about it one should come out with preconditions of self-evident nature, stemming from legal order, from guarantees for the Polish state, for the Polish people's peaceful life. That is why today one should also say that social agreement is needed for this to succeed. Agreement of all Poles in the interest of calm and peace. This is needed by Poland which is our utmost commitment.

All those who sincerely want pluralism and realization of the aspirations of the nation and the working class must remember to refrain from the policy of accomplished facts. There is no freedom without the rule of law. Everybody who draws the limits of law just for himself destroys the rights of others. Consistency is what we need here. For these principles to be put into effect we must take care of the strength of our socialist state, its prestige, and this country's strength must be based on law and social support.

Hieronim Kubiak, CC member, scientific worker, chairman of the Council of the Polonian Studies Institute at the Jagiellonian University in Krakow:

Working eight hours a day, workers would like to earn enough for a peaceful life at home, so that it may, in simple, human terms, be more cheerful. But if we say so much then it is just now that one should ask: What must be done in political thinking, in economic thinking, in practical activity, for this to come true? If we are going to speak only about those eight hours we will become sheer demagogues. Without sweeping reforms workers' interest is impossible to satisfy.

We must not fear reality. It now requires that we make this step towards "Solidarity." This does not ensue from out fear but from the state of consciousness and from the truth about the reasons behind martial law. After all, the reason was the need to "buy time"—exactly for the changes that we speak about now. What we are doing now does not contradict martial law. This just confirms the truth of those times. What we had in mind and what we always have in mind is social order which gives us a chance of development. And therefore, comrades, today one must not refrain from saying this very difficult "yes."

Wiktor Lis, CC member, foreman in the "Rawar" radio factory in Warsaw:

Are we to agree to reactivation of "Solidarity?" First of all we should answer the question of whether this is to be a trade union, a social movement or a political party. In his latest interview for "POLITYKA" Lech Walesa made it clear: "Solidarity" is to originate in any kind of activity. Both that from Nowa Huta where banners spoke about hanging communists, and that from Gdynia—treated by some as the outcome of a split.

Mr Walesa made it clear: don't let anybody divide "Solidarity." And now the reply to the said question is simple. At a meeting attended by secretaries of factory committees from the Praga-South district (of Warsaw) the comrades put it in clear terms: If the central authorities put into life that which we are going to say here, then there is no need whatsoever to reactivate "Solidarity," for Walesa did not initiate dialogue and we in turn will never come to terms with the opposition—whatever its name.

Jan Kolodziejczak, CC member, general manager of the Wielkopolska teleelectronic plant "Telekom-Teletra" in Poznan:

The political road we were following to reach economic reforms was improper. There can be only one answer to this problem: It is necessary to make a new formula of political pluralism.

Eugeniusz Rysz, CC member, first secretary of the PUWP plant committee of the "Autosan" factory in Sanok, the Krosno Voivodship:

There is a need in plants and factories for a strong and independent trade union movement. The party also needs such a movement. And I am coming out in favour of such a movement. But I have still a vivid memory of the period of trade union pluralism in the years 1980 and 1981.

For eight years now we cannot get over this wrestling of sorts and this exceptional competition. Have we undergone today such a big metamorphosis, have we elevated political culture that everybody understands a sense of trade union rivalry. I am afraid that wounds of the national economy that have not healed yet will be opened up again.

Czeslaw Staszczak, CC member, vice-minister of Internal Affairs:

The 10th PUWP CC Plenary meeting was received generally by the Ministry of Internal Affairs as the successive stage of the process of reforms that was a logical result of the preceeding ones. (Law enforcement forces) are deeply convinced that further and, undoubtedly, more profound changes in the party are indispensable in order to accelerate and consolidate the process of economic and political reforms.

Fear and anxiety are above all connected with a question whether trends to build national agreement within the opposition are lasting, whether declarations of realism and moderation on the part of the opposition are reliable, and whether the partnership being born in this way will be confirmed in the face of challenges and difficulties, especially economic ones. Understandable doubts and obvious caution in assessments of the situation, expressed by functionaries of militia and security service, does not by any means denote a reserve towards dialogue which is now under way. On the contrary, it is here, on the first line of struggle for internal security, public peace and order, that one notices with sharpness bigger than ever the necessity to politically solve the existing discrepancies and conflicts.

Being aware of threats hanging over the achievement of a strategic goal, namely, of national agreement, we perceive the present period as a decisive stage of struggle for this agreement.

We will support all forces marked with constructive option but—I stress it with all strength—we will not allow any actions disturbing legal order and designed to introduce anarchy into life.

Leszek Miller, CC secretary:

We will not make any prompt and profound changes in the social and economic life if society does not want to take part in them with more involvement, passion, and even determination.

The association movement, for the sake of whose development legal premises are established now, can become one of significant factors to set civil initiatives free. Everything which is not inconsistent with the version of public order of the socialist state should meet with a friendly attitude and support on the part of our authorities. The party's openness to social initiatives, its support and service to the people with all means that are at our disposal will consolidate our strength in society. The road of reforms and socialist renewal we have chosen requires this.

We will not make any promises, we will not lure, posture, coquet and buy youth confidence. Instead of this we must suggest, encourage, impose style and even fashion of life which is not quiet, which is mutinous and which destroys fossilization that is hampering us on the road to modern future. We support a mutiny against everybody and everything pulling Poland back. At the same time, every attempt to weaken the socialist state must meet with a firm opposition.

Wladyslaw Gontarski, CC member, crane operator, foreman, the commercial port in Gdynia:

There is a need for reforms both in the economy and in the party. But on two conditions: first, we should acquire all effective economic solutions that bring about expected results even if invented by the devil himself. Second, we cannot depart from tested principles and achievements of socialism in this country.

I cannot accept the proposal to include in today's resolution the following clause: to ensure the opposition a lasting place in the coalition system of power. As the Central Committee we should not give such guarantees. They can only stem from the democratic electoral law and results of elections.

Tyyus Krawczyc—CC member, general, pilot, commander of the Air Forces: A majority of communist militarymen express full understanding and support for the proposed new solutions in the field of expanding political pluralism and economic reform enabling all sectors to revive their activities.

Despite what is said here and there about the army and militarymen, we favour full democratization, full self-government, full possibility for all social and political forces to articulate their views and interests. The wiser through dramatic experience, we however have the right and obligation to show concern for peace in the country, for strengthening and the further development of the socialist state.

Political and economic pluralism is becoming a fact. It must be a means and method of national agreement, of surmounting social conflicts precisely through the "round table", in consultative councils and parliament. In order for this to happen however, legal and institutional guarantees must be provided that the multiplicity of views, world outlooks and strivings does not bring down the state but democratize it to the greatest extent and render it stronger.

Restructuring of the army is under way. In the air force we dissolved 6 units in the last 2 years. Last year alone we withdrew 150 planes from combat service.

Slawomir Krupa, CC member, main electrician at "Kedzierzyn" nitrgen works in Kedzierzyn-Kozle, Opole voivodship:

The introduction of a second trade union to the plant will undoubtedly lead once again to a split in crews and in society outside the plants. Along with the wave of material demands, one can foresee the emergence of very far-reaching political demands. In such a situation it is worthwhile pondering whether one should not express consent to the formation of a new party, an opposition one, which would create conditions for the elimination of political struggle from the field of action of trade unions and move it to the forum of parliament, people's councils and various associations and organizations.

Edward Sawicki—CC member, grinder, chairman of the independent self-governing trade union at the transportation equipment works "PZL-Mielec" in Mielec, Rzeszow voivodship:

Today there still are many people wielding power in the economy and party through Stalinist methods. Their activity damages the reform processes.

The reborn trade union already has its place in our life. Legalizing the opposition in any workplace is as if letting in a Trojan horse.

If we do acknowledge the opposition movement as real in our reality than it should operate as political opposition and outside the workplace.

Zbigniew Hanf, CC member, miner, chairman of the independent self-governed trade union at the "Staszic" coal mine in Katowice:

I think that if people from "Solidarity" wanted to join the present trade union, much good could come of this. This is exactly what Alfred Miodowicz had in mind when he proposed that the clandestine trade union join the legally operating one.

I share the view of many comrades and trade unionists that it is much safer when the opposition is open and fitted into legal frames than when it is secret, not completely recognized and unpredictable. I understand that people of other views have a right to create their organizational forms but above this right is yet a higher one—the right of sensible constitutional order.

Edward Raburski, CC member, mechanic foreman at a division of the PKP State railways service in Leszno:

The expectations of my milieu are simple: At issue are not simply transformations but above all radical transformations because despite hitherto reformative efforts after the 9th and 10th PUWP Congress, we are still in the midst of a deteriorating crisis.

Eugeniusz Kwiatkowski, CC member, dumping conveyor operator at "Turow" mine in Bogatynia, Jelenia Gora Voivodship, presented an open letter of his party organization, numbering 1,000 members and candidates, to the CC members reading in part:

The milieu to which we belong expects of you immediate, firm, outright revolutionary decisions securing a stable and decent living standard of society.

We think that the idea of socialism is deeply rooted in the minds of society. This is an element stirring hope for a just and decent future of every Pole. Avoiding further delay in describing socially accepted and expected directions of transformations is the condition for success. We therefore propose resolving the problems of the trade union movement and its model at the "round table" and sanctioning the outcome of national agreement in this respect by an amended law on trade unions.

Iwona Lubowska, PUWP CC Political Bureau member, principal of the Adam Asnyk high school in Bielsko Biala:

My foremost dream, not private but as a party member, is for the 10th plenum to really become perhaps not a historic but breakthrough one.

If breakthrough, then let us be truely consistent.

Lubowska said that Leszek Miller, CC secretary, speaking about youth, had stated that those who are active mean more and receive more. This is a beautiful phrase but we, members of the party, our leadership, all those gathered here and our party base, have reservations as to that.

We do not mean more just because we are active, because we are trying to lift the country from economic ruin because we have a concrete real program: We are being offended, our personal dignity is being hurt, we do not even have constitutional guarantees as what befalls a man honestly working in this country, in this political system.

And perhaps here is the key to the question why our young generation does not want to support us, mature party members, in taking up our ideology.

Malgorzata Skonieczna, vice-president of the Central Control and Audit Commission said in part:

I am of the opinion that, in fact, we need neither opposition nor Walesa, because the workers can settle their accounts with our party themselves.

And another, very difficult issue concerning the adoption of the stand on the opposition: If we do this, we shall make a split within the party, hundreds of comrades will leave us. Moreover, we shall crush a part of the administrative and economic cadre.

The 10th plenum should clean up the mess and chaos in the party's thinking about itself, and I think that no experiments will serve this well, said she.

Jan Janicki, PUWP CC member, Kalisz voivodship PUWP [words indistinct] secretary:

It is certain that Polish socialism must stem from our traditions, it must be based on the social ownership of the means of production, on the obedience to the universal, objective economic laws, primarily to the development of the market economy, and the social justice seen from the viewpoint of a man in the street.

I hold it right to accelerate the round table talks, without preliminary conditions.

A wise political compromise with the constructive opposition, but not with political players, may favourably influence the bitter social moods, moderating them. As far as trade union pluralism is concerned—let us make it clear in the adopted solutions—a working plant cannot be a platform for political struggle.

Zbigniew Sobotka, Political Bureau alternate member, first secretary of basic PUWP organization in the "Warszawa" steelworks:

In the talks with party activists, an anxiety about the trade union pluralism is expressed. It seems to me that, as far as the future of the union is concerned, we must shake off distrust and enmity on both sides.

We must choose the most appropriate means, namely, open ourselves to dialogue. We must say once again that we are ready for talks, also with "Solidarity," we must lay down proper conditions, secure peace in plants and in the streets, improve economic situation. After such preparation, there would be place for the "round table" and for reaching legalization of "Solidarity."

It is high time to put an end to pretending that in socialism there is no place for opposition and an opposition party. It must be inlcuded in the system, and one must fight against it using political methods, Sobotka said.

Roman Winkler, PUWP CC member, foreman in the "Kosciuszko" steelworks in Chorzow, Katowice voivodship:

The solution of the key problem of the trade union and political pluralism should be treated by the party as an evolutionary process, not as a mechanical decision, said he.

Boguslaw Kalabarczyk, PUWP CC member, foreman in "Pronit" plastic works in Pionki, Radom Voivodship:

In my opinion, a large part of the top cadre on all levels does not fulfill their tasks, both party and administrative ones. Workers see this every day and are irritated by this. In fact, it is a futile anger. Therefore, let us not be surprised that a certain type of class antagonism is growing, and it sets society at variance.

As a worker, I have mixed feelings as to our meetings and plenary sessions, and also to the work of the CC problem commissions. We deliver many fiery speeches, we argue and quarrel, we reorganize, but, as a consequence, we actually make no progress. The successes are illusionary, Kalabarczyk said.

Walesa Arrives in Warsaw for Government Talks

AU2601112589 Paris AFP in English
1114 GMT 26 Jan 89

[Text] Warsaw, Jan 26 (AFP)—Solidarity leader Lech Walesa arrived here Thursday to prepare for talks with the Polish Government on legalising his banned trade union, local sources said.

The union leader arrived from his home in the northern port city of Gdansk, was accompanied by his secretary Father Henryk Jankowski, the priest of the Gdansk parish where the two men live, passengers on the train he took said.

Prime Minister Mieczyslaw Rakowski has said talks between the two sides, repeatedly postponed since last November, will begin on Friday.

Mr. Walesa is due to meet Stanislaw Ciosek, a member of the ruling United Polish Workers Party Central Committee Secretariat, and Interior Minister Czeslaw Kiszczak, who are both also members of the Politburo.

Sources close to Mr. Walesa said he was due later Thursday to meet his close advisers and representatives of the Polish Roman Catholic Church, which has made strenuous attempts to reconcile the two sides.

Walesa's Citizen's Committee Not 'Shadow Cabinet'

LD2501202589 Warsaw PAP in English
1714 GMT 25 Jan 89

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 25—The opposition in Poland does not have clear-cut proposals concerning the future economic system of Poland, stated Henryk Samsonowicz of the citizen's committee attached to Lech Walesa. We are also not a shadow cabinet, said he.

The citizen's committee which was founded on December 18, 1988 in Warsaw, comprises 15 subcommittees. Prof. Henryk Samsonowicz, a historian specializing in the middle ages, was appointed chairman of the science, education and upbringing subcommittee.

In an interview for the "TYGODNIK POLSKI" (a Christian socio-cultural weekly published in Warsaw), Prof. Samsonowicz said in part: Poland's improvement depends on whether the round table meeting takes place. In this respect, Premier Rakowski is right, namely that the opposition, irrespective of what type it is, let us say the oppositions, do not have a precise program. They do not have clear-cut proposals as regards the future shape of Poland's political and economic system. The committee is the group which is to prepare these expertises, to help Chairman Walesa in a model-like presentation of certain matters. Those who will sit down at the round table must of course have independent, warranted visions of a future Poland, views representing the needs of society. And if the round table does not take place? Then society must also know how the alternative program of the life of our country would have looked liked.

The most diverse, at times completely contradictory, opinions are represented in the citizen's committee. Chairman Walesa will select those he deems most proper, Prof. Samsonowicz continued.

I am saying that neither I nor at least a part of my colleagues feel like politicians. We want to be responsible for certain fields of social life, preparing programs alternative to government ones. It is not my intention to fight against Minister Fisiak (Minister of National Education - PAP). Quite the contrary, I think that I could put my name under all his reformative ideas. I would therefore like to protest as firmly as possible against describing us as a "shadow cabinet" or things like that. We do not aspire to executive and judicial power or the role of a legislative body.

I think that the broadly understood authorities still do not have a precise vision in this respect or a clearly defined stance towards the citizen's committee. We are a precedential formation: one acting openly though not being a legal entity and not aspiring to be one, attached to a politician not fitted into any official alignment, Prof. Samsonowicz said.

Walesa Speaks on Need for Economic Program

LD2501202689 Warsaw PAP in English
1832 GMT 25 Jan 89

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 25—Today our wire service has carried fragments of an interview with Prof. Samsonowicz, a member of the citizen's committee attached to Lech Walesa in which the former acknowledged that the opposition in Poland does not have a clear-cut economic program.

This was also confirmed by Lech Walesa himself who stated that society "has many grudges but does not have ideas and programs. I therefore set up this group (citizen's committee) in order to stir up society. What will come of this? I do not know."

This statement is the reply to the question "What was the citizen's committee set up for?" put by a journalist of the "TYGODNIK KULTURALNY."

In the same interview Lech Walesa stated: We are doomed to agreement. Every protraction of the issue increases the losses. Who should be blamed for this? They are trying to (blame) us, we them, but this is childish. We must meet each other halfway as soon as possible... Compromise is called for as soon as possible and the solution of problems on its platform. All (problems). And all together. At the table, not in the streets. This is possible though there is a lot of craft. If however we approach (the matter) with concern, wisely and all together, within the frame of a certain political culture, then a lot of good things can still be accomplished in this country. let us hope we will want to want, Walesa said.

The "TYGODNIK KULTURALNY" is brought out in Warsaw by the publishing house of the ZSL United Peasant Party.

Orzechowski Speaks at Gdansk Lenin Shipyard

LD2501200789 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 2000 GMT 24 Jan 89

["Socialism Yes, But What Sort?" program: report on PZPR report-back conference with Professor Marian Orzechowski at the Gdansk Lenin Shipyard on 21 January—recorded]

[Text] We invite you to another meeting with Professor Marian Orzechowski in the series: Socialism Yes, But What Sort? This time we are in the Gdansk Lenin Shipyard, where Marian Orzechowski took part in a PZPR report-back conference.

The Gdansk Lenin Shipyard, the occupational health and safety hall, Saturday, 21 January. Here is our report:

[Jan Labedzki, PZPR Central Committee Politburo member during the time of Solidarity] It is good that the 10th plenum has decided thus. I must say that I bow my head before the members of the 10th plenum because at long last, once again it was a plenum of political battle. At this plenum—and at long last, in my conception—it chose the best possible way [word indistinct] the best possible ones, and that it will be difficult to implement there can be absolutely no doubt, absolutely none. We must define ourselves here, that we will sometimes have to defend various matters at our work posts, but unfortunately that is our task, and for this reason we carry a party membership card.

A second matter. Prior to the ninth congress, everybody, particularly on the Gdansk coast, decidedly supported the restructuring of the national economy, (?relative) restructuring. Of course, there are ambitions. I, too, have such an ambition. I have worked for 26 years in this enterprise, which is my first enterprise, and I would like for it to be the last. However, this was with full social security. This is slowly beginning to end. This luxury of the continuation in social security must and will end, and for many very painfully, but it will end. This truth must finally get through to us. There is no other way. Well, to live in the uncertain but new, or to live in the old but already worn-out and good-for-nothing? I support the first, the new one, that which has not yet been tested. Together with the constructive opposition.

Dangers are normal in a normal world, in normally arranged states that over the centuries have arrived at a constructive opposition, at constructive resolutions within states, that have traveled this painful road. They are capable of living with us, and of living safely, which is important. Without democracy, without constructive opposition, it is easier to live, but life is more dangerous. We must understand this. Someone must oppose us from the left or the center. Well, statutory guarantees never settle anything, as you know. Criticism, party self-criticism, which is written down there, does not settle anything. Without an opposition, he who sticks his neck out will, whether we like it or not, always be regarded unfavorably, and will be eliminated. There are 1001 methods for this.

[Activist Tadeusz Klawikowski] The questions and proposals resulting from individual talks appear optimistic to me. What should be done to restore credibility to party decisions, to attain and fulfil the authentic leadership role in society, for the party to be the representative of the majority of the nation, and for the role of basic party organizations and their members to be significant in the community?

Until now society has blamed mostly the party members for the country's economic state, difficulties of everyday life, and the development of the bureaucratic administration. Working people were particularly affected by the lack of support for visibly wrong economic decisions. How can one with any common sense support the worsening living standard of the working class and of the majority of intellegentsia, including the party members themselves? The discussion on the resolution of the 10th plenum will certainly continue for a long time in many venues.

However, one can already ask oneself and all of us a question: whether and for how long our government and the central political authorities will be consistent in their actions? For we, the party grassroots, need a guarantee of improvement, arguments that cannot be undermined, and the credibility of the authorities. Along with the spark of hope contained in the theme of the 10th Central Committee Plenum, workers expect from ministers, directors, and managers the implementation of the tasks set by the party. This time it will not be the workers who will bear the responsibility for erroneous decisions but they will observe and evaluate, perform control functions and, at the same time, their positive evaluations will make an impact on the credibility of the authorities and the party itself.

[Draus] Will the occurrence of political opposition threaten our party? I do not think so. On the contrary. Every organization that is satisfied with what it has achieved begins moving backward and in the end disintegrates. Such are the laws of development. The state of competition or even threat makes an organization introduce changes and creates the need for improvement. The party will have to prove that it has a leading role in the nation and society and search for new solutions, both social and economic. We will have to try to regain those who left us not because they do not agree with our ideology, but because they did not agree with its implementation.

The party will also have to gain the support of the great part of society that is alien to all politics and which wants to live peacefully and decently from the fruits of its labor. Let us remember that the party has at its disposal an adequate real force to defend Poland's political system.

Can the occurrence of the opposition in the political arena create a threat to social peace? Certainly, yes. This is a real threat. We have been taught this lesson by the history of parliamentarianism of the second republic and the events of 1981. For this reason we will have to apply the principles of limited trust, and even more so because out of the crucible of the present illegal opposition every now and again groups appear that do not conceal their anti-communism and put forward confrontational slogans. Let us, however, remember that it is much easier and convenient to criticize everything than to cooperate and take joint responsibility.

It will then transpire that many original supporters will cease to be so, as their support was born out of the conflict of group interests and it is difficult to satisfy everyone. It might turn out that the already legal, codeciding opposition will at a certain point notice that it is a much smaller force than it was then when it was illegal. So, there exists the threat on the part of the opposition. But another also exists and who knows if it's not a greater threat, within the party itself. There still exist huge forces of fundamentalists and doctrinalists, voluntarily supporting the reform for years, but in reality, which is decisive, torpedoing its instructions and the opportunities arising. It was precisely thanks to them that there were so many turnings in our history. It is they that form this inpenetrable strata which accepts change neither from above to below nor from below to above into which all attempts at change have sunk.

[Orzechowski] Comrade secretary, esteemed comrades! It could not have been otherwise. Four days after the end of the 10th plenum its resolutions, its decisions, are the subject of a party meeting, a dialogue of party members, a discussion about what is most important for the party, the nation, our state. After all, this plenum strikes home, strikes at the feelings of party members, at their expectations. It brings a feeling of relief that we have passed through this decisive and very dangerous threshold, but it also brings question marks, fears whether we will succeed this time.

It is not a coincidence that in this hall, from this podium the comrades have recalled many resolutions, many programs, many raised hopes that remained on paper, after all, and that left in our hearts a residue of bitterness. The line of the 10th plenum, the spirit of the resolution and standpoint is not something fundamentally new. It grew out of the line of the ninth congress, out of the line of socialist renewal, socialist reforms. It is an attempt to accelerate these and give them a new quality. It is an attempt to say a new word in that which we term the creation of a modernized shape of socialism. One inalienable element of this modernized shape of socialism is political pluralism and union pluralism. The 10th Central Committee Plenum is, in essence, the first real chance for very many years, since the ninth congress, to create a really national accord in our country.

One may ask, and one has the right and perhaps even the obligation to ask: What does this actually mean; what is the point? Are we again spreading before the party, before society, the mirage of national unity, the mirage of moral-political unity? Or are we undertaking a new attempt to explain away the contradictions that everyone sees a new attempt to explain away the contradictions that everyone sees with the naked eye? Do we want to pass over, so to speak, the differences dividing us Poles? I think that the reply to these questions and doubts can only be one. Nothing of the sort! The point is quite simply for all political forces active in Poland, that are a fact, to find their appropriate place, provided they respect the existing legal order and wish to function differently—often against us, against the government, against the party—within the framework of this order, so as to make that order permanent, to strengthen it, to place it one better, healthier, more just bases. To put it succintly, if they wish, while differing from us and arguing with us—if that is precisely how we wish to see the future of the political forces in Poland—this requires some minimum of mutual understanding between them, which is a matter of the most importance for the nation and the state. So how is our political system to appear? How is the eventual model of our national economy to appear?

I will, of course, not say anything new. You here in this hall, in this shipyard, know very well that since August 1980—and that is when it started—there continues in our fatherland an unending conflict and dispute over the future of Poland on the basis of this shipyard, this, one of the largest work enterprises in our country. You know that this severe dispute on the shape and future of Poland has been through quite varied circumstances. There were turning points in this dispute, to recall March 1981, the ninth congress of our party, the wave of social disturbances of August 1981, [as heard] the 13 December 1981, October 1982, when the Sejm passed the resolution, the law on trade unions, or finally the August-September wave of strikes last year.

Today, this conflict which has lasted since August 1980 has reached a turning point. We are all facing a barrier called Solidarity, and perhaps you feel it considerably

more sharply and more distinctly than anyone else in the party. We all feel that if we do not crush this barrier, if we do not remove this barrier, we will remain at the point which we have already reached. At the same time, the chance to break out of this demonic circle which has encircled all of us Poles for several years has also appeared, I think under the influence of the recent experiences in April, August, and September.

We are changing; we, the authorities, we, the party, are changing. We are drawing conclusions from these 8 difficult years. I think that we have learned alot, perhaps not very quickly, perhaps we could have learned more quickly, but that is already in the past. We are learning, and we are also counting on the fact that they, our adversaries, our opponents, finally our partners in this difficult dialogue, are also changing. We are counting on the fact that, among them, realism and responsibility for today's Poland and the future Poland will triumph. The past is receeding ever more, but of course, in each one of us, a thorn remains.

The past often casts a gloomy shadow on each one of our lives, because not one of us party activists can say that he does not have bitter experiences during 1980-81. Yet at the same time, when we look at the future, particularly when we look at the future, we are also aware that, if we do not break this demonic circle which I spoke about, the future does not look very bright, unless we take a decisive step.

It is not true that thresholds in the implementation of the economic reform, thresholds in the implementation of the economic plan, the consolidation of the national economy, thresholds and barriers in the implementation of the economic plan set out by Mieczyslaw Rakowski's government are already behind us; they are in front of us. So the question arises: Will we cross these thresholds in conditions of relative social calm, relative social agreement, or will we try to cross them in conditions of social unrest? It is not possible to implement the Rakowski government's economic program, it is not possible to implement the plan for the consolidation of the national economy, without the consent of the whole of society. Unless we reach agreement with the opposition—not because it is the opposition but because a considerably section of society trusts that opposition—unless we reach agreement with that opposition it will be impossible to acheive that.

This is one of the fundamental reasons underlying the 10th plenum resolutions, but there are others, of course. We have the Sejm elections before us, a great test of strength, a great political test. How will we get through it? Each of us knows, after all, thta we can win the elections, losing them. [sentence as heard] So, is it not in our national interest to try to reach agreement with the opposition? To try to reach an agreement regarding joint, agreed elections, based on what unites us—above the divisions—on what is decisive for us as Poles. Of course, this cannot happen without paying the price that must be paid for it; but will this price, signifying a new division of mandates, not be considerably lower than what will await us if we don't do it?

There are also other causes. Comrades, we realize that without the normalization of financial and economic relations with the capitalist West—not without billions in loans, not without a stream of dollars flowing into Poland, for I don't believe in that and none of us believes in that—but without the normalization of financial and economic relations, without the normalization of relations with the World Bank and the IMF, we will struggle with our financial troubles for a very, very long time. Again, with a partner like Poland, politically unstable, shaken by social unrest, with an unstable economy, nobody will want to consolidate [changes thought] to enter into and consolidate and develop normal financial and economic relations.

There are also other conditioning factors [uwarunkowania], which lay at the source of the determination shown by Central Committee members at the recent plenum when they took decisions in a hard-hitting political discussion. Perestroyka, the processes of retructuring in the world of socialism, are at a decisive, breakthrough point. Everything that is happening here in Poland has a direct bearing on what is happening in the Soviet Union, in Hungary, and in other countries. Every—I will not say success—every achievement of ours, every step, even the smallest, in the direction of stabilization, of calm, of consolidating the foundations of our system of government has a favorable effect for perestroyka, for the processes of reconstruction in the socialist countries. Prolonging the existing status, the danger and prospect of deepening unrest, are arguments against restructuring; arguments in favor of the opponents of restructuring. Finally, can we—as a party that is called the party of working people, and claims to represent the interests of the mass of the people, of all working people—be indifferent to what working people in Poland really think? Can we be indifferent to this? to the fact that what is most important, most valuable for the decisive majority of Poles today is social calm?

Fear of the future, of a possible repetition of what occurred in 1980-81, of the possibility that something even more dangerous may happen: these are defined and shown by systematic research into the attitudes and moods of the majority of working people in Poland. They are also accompanied, of course, by moods of apathy and indifference. People really are not interested in whether or how we come to an agreement with Solidarity. People are not interested in our internal affairs; if they are, it is only as a factor leading to social calm. People want to have hope; they want to have a glimmer of faith that tomorrow or the day after, things will be better as a result of our actions. It is no accident—General Jaruzelski talked about it at the plenum—that before the 10th plenum, between the first and second part, the Central Committee, the first secretary, each of us—the Central Committee, in general—got

dozens and hundreds of letters in which people said: Do everything to bring about social calm in Poland. One must, therefore, listen to that urgent voice of society. If we say we have no patent on wisdom and that we are not always right, then let us draw the appropriate conclusions from that.

However there was also a strong conviction at the 10th plenum debate, that we have still time and possibilities to put forward our own initiative. What does it mean to put foward an initiative? It also means to define conditions. Comrades, read the text of the stance [stanowisko]. We are coming forward with a great initiative, but we also are defining all the conditions for this initative to be such that it will favor the strengthening of the socialist system and public order in Poland, so that it does not transform itself into a self-contradiction. All this is a constituent part of the climate, the atmosphere, in which the 10th plenum decisions were made. We all had a feeling and an awareness that it was essential to break through, to lift the blockade that has for many months made it impossible for us to make any significant step forward with regard to the process of national agreement.

Comrades, no one can say, no one can accuse the Central Committee members of taking such decisions lightly, of inventing somewhere in their offices some kind of concept which they forced the Central Committee to accept. No. All those who debated for 2 days and for 7 hours at the closed session of the Central Committee were aware that we were making essential, bold decisions, which also are very risky, or even dangerous. However, this awareness also was accompanied by the conviction that if these risky and dangerous decisions were not made, we would put society, the state, and the party in even greater risk and danger. The question arises: What next? We have passed the threshold; we have entered deep waters.

Each of us feels that there is still a very long way to safe shores; that no doubt there will be whirlpools, dangerous depths; that what is before us—the roundtable, may it be as soon as possible, and this also depends on your employees and their families, the elections, introduction of political and trade union pluralism into our life—these are not the stages of a straight and wide open road or a motorway, but are successive stages of a great political battle for the future of Poland and socialism, the battle for which we as a party must be prepared. And we must be well prepared.

A lot was said here, too, about the stance. One comrade said he fully supports the view expressed by Alfred Miodowicz. I respect, and one should respect, such a view. Each one of us in the party has the right to his own views and convictions, has the right to disagree with the views of the majority and consider them incorrect and improper. But there is this one rule in the party: decisions made in a democracy way are to be observed by all. The resolution and the stance passed at the plenum are highest decisions made between the congresses and party gatherings, and their observance is the duty of all members and candidate members, including members of trade unions, who are party members. This is not a document to be negotiated and debated in the party on whether it is proper or improper. We can enrich our arguments, we can debate how best to implement it in various milieux, but we cannot say: I agree or disagree with it and will not implement it. Because without the minimum of party discipline we will not go very far. These are decisions which can be changed by another session of the Central Committee or higher authority in the shape of a party congress. We, must therefore, implement them.

The party is not a debating society, is not a London Hyde Park, and is not an ancient Polish sejmik [unruly gathering of noblemen]. If we do not take this on board and take it as principles of our action, then in the party and the life of our country nothing will change. There can be no doubt about it. The decision has been made, the time has come for its unified, active implementing by the whole party. And this is what all party energy should be concentrated on: action, because today the most important matter for the party is unity in action, which follows from the belief that there is no other road available for the party and for Poland. This is no time for wallowing in the past or reopening old wounds. If necessary, time for this will come at the National Delegate Conference and at the 11th Congress. And then we will seek answers to many of the questions that worry us concerning the past. Today is above all a time of action. We need resolve, consistency, and effectiveness in action but we also need vigilance, discretion, and composure. I am saying this not without reason as we are well aware of the fact that on both sides—equally on our side and on the side of our adversaries-partners, our opponents—there are forces, tendencies, which are not in the least enthusiastic about the resolutions of the 10th plenum, which are not in the least enthusiastic about Walesa's conciliatory statements, and which could decide to go for all manner of provocations. Consequently, we have to be vigilant, we have to keep our composure, and not let ourselves be provoked.

I did not, and I do not, intend to sum up the discussion because those days are gone. Today the party is not made up of the wise and the wiser. Today the wisdom of the party, I think, is shared equally by us all—party members and all echelons. And the wisdom of all echelons and all members begets the collective wisdom which, I am deeply convinced, was voiced in the discussion and the resolution of the 10th plenum.

Finally, I would like to say a few words about you and your organizations. You are among the largest party organizations in Poland. You have had very important achievements since the 10th party congress. I would like to emphasize this particularly and unequivocally because I am aware, as is the entire leadership, that the party organization at the Gdansk shipyard is working under special, downright extreme, and difficult conditions.

After all, it is here at the shipyard that the primary, most difficult and roughest frontline of struggle with the political adversary runs. It has a specific shape here, a

specific expression, and a specific name. Through here also run the primary and very difficult frontline of struggle for national accord, for dialogue with the constructive opposition, for opportunities for collaboration above—as I have put it—and the divisions in the name of the supreme interest which are the future of our country, peace, and a chance of development.

History means that our party organization is becoming like a testing ground for the whole party, and this can be bitter. It is becoming a testing ground for the functioning of a party organization in conditions of a great, liquidated, deeply restructured or being restructured enterprise. You are becoming a testing ground for the whole party for action precisely in the front line. Under conditions of strong opposition from people, structures, illegal structures, and the factual coexistence of two trade unions. I think that your experiences, your attainments in this area are especialy valuable for the party today.

In the name of the party leadership I wish to sincerely thank you for your attainments and activity up to now. I wish you all the best in the difficult weeks and months awaiting you. Thank you. [aplause]

Ministry Spokesman Says Priest Not Murdered

AU2601081989 Paris AFP in English
0230 GMT 26 Jan 89

[Text] Warsaw, Jan 26 (AFP)—Father Stefan Niedzielak, the pro-Solidarity priest whose battered body was found in a Warsaw presbytery Sunday, did not appear to have been murdered, an Interior Ministry spokesman said.

Police Major Wojciech Garstka, speaking Wednesday night on Polish television, also dismissed Western news reports that the 74-year-old priest had been killed by a karate chop to the spine.

He said forensic experts had found two of the victim's own eyelashes under his fingernails, as well as varnish, fibers from his cassock and blood matching his own blood group.

"These results alone allow us to rule out the presence of...an attacker," Maj. Garstka said.

Lawyer Jan Olszewski, who was present at Fr. Niedzielak's autopsy on Monday, said he found the police official's statement "surprising, especially at this stage of the inquiry."

Reliable sources said Monday that the post-mortem showed Fr. Niedzielak had been killed by "one or more people of great physical strength or adept in special combat techniques".

They said the post-mortem showed that his body was covered with "a series of external wounds to the head, the face, the arms and feet," and that his back and his nose were broken.

Fr. Niedzielak's back could have been fractured either in falling "from a great height" or as a result of "great violence", according to the report.

Two of the priest's left fingernails had been split, showing he put up a strong fight, the sources added, quoting the report.

Rakowski Makes Official Visit to West Germany

Departure for FRG Reported

LD2001140889 Warsaw PAP in English
1326 GMT 20 Jan 89

[Text] Warsaw, Jan 20—Poland's Prime Minister Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski set off today for a few-day private visit to Bonn at an invitation from FRG'S President Richard von Weizsaecker to attend the ceremonies marking the 75th birthday of Willy Brandt, a former leader and the present honorary chairman of the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD), about whom Rakowski wrote a book which once served as his dissertation for a doctor's degree.

The fact that the ceremonies are also being attended by many outstanding statesmen, including the President of France Francois Mitterrand and Austrian chancellor Franz Vranitzky, indicates that the Polish premier's talks will not be limited only to an exchange of views with West German politicians.

At Warsaw's airport, Rakowski was bidden farewell by representatives of the government with Vice-Premier Kazimierz Olesiak, and by head of the PUWP Central Committee Foreign Department Ernest Kucza. Present was Charge d'Affaires of the FRG'S Embassy in Warsaw Johannes Bauch.

Kohl Receives Rakowski

LD2001234889 Warsaw PAP in English
2122 GMT 20 Jan 89

[Text] Bonn, Jan. 20—Chancellor Khol today met with Polish Prime Minister Mieczyslaw Rakowski who has come to Bonn for an unofficial visit on the occasion of the 75th birthday of the honorary SPD Chairman Willy Brandt. Their exchange of views covered the current development of relations between the Federal Republic and Poland.

The chancellor and the prime minister have already had their first conversation during a gala banquet given by FRG President Richard von Weizsaecker to Honour Willy Brandt. Later today Mieczyslaw Rakowski will be the guest of foreign minister hans-Dietrich Genscher in his manor outside Bonn.

The Polish guest will be received by President Richard Von Weizsaecker Saturday morning and meetings with chairwoman of the Bundestag Rita Suessmuth, Prime Minister of North Rhine-Westphalia Johannes Rau,

honorary SPD Leader Willy Brandt, Minister of Economy Helmut Haussmann, and West German industrialists are scheduled for the weekend.

Rakowski Activities Noted

LD2201225289 Warsaw PAP in English
2222 GMT 22 Jan 89

[By PAP correspondent Eugeniusz Guz]

[Text] Bonn, Jan. 22—The second and third day (Saturday and Sunday) of the unofficial visit of Poland's Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski to the Federal Republic of Germany included a breakfast with FRG President Richard von Weizsaecker.

Rakowski also travelled to Duesseldorf where he was the guest of the head of the land government of North Rhine-Westphalia and vice chairman of the SPD Johannes Rau. The Polish premier also held talks with Chairwoman of the Bundestag Rita Suessmuth as well as Chairman of the DGB Trade Union Association Ernest Breit. Moreover, Rakowski was the guest of former Chancellor and Chairman of the SPD Willy Brandt. He was also treated to dinner by the plenipotentiary of the Krupp concern Bertold Beitz in Essen and granted several interviews, among them an extensive one for the ZDF TV channel aired on Sunday.

All the interlocutors of the premier firmly stressed a will to fully put to order mutual relations.

The talks held in Bonn indicated not only a common awareness of the need for a new look at the future shape of bilateral relations. Also visible was the will that a breakthrough take place in this respect in 1989 finally closing a period in which controversies many a time prevailed over concordance of stances. The talks decisively enhanced the chances and prospects of a visit by Chancellor Helmut Kohl to Poland still this year, possibly even in the first half of the year. The appointment by each side of government plenipotentiaries is to accelerate and facilitate the process of agreeing still open details.

Saturday's 75-minute breakfast stirred speculation about a possible visit of the FRG president to Poland. The spokesman of the president's office termed the possibility of such a visit as "not excluded". Before that however a final conclusion is expected of preparations for the visit of the chancellor and a precise setting of the date. Only then, at a time suiting both sides, will the date of the visit of FRG's president to Poland be determined. The Polish side has for long declared interest in such a visit. The FRG's president expressed an opinion that the political contacts established by Rakowski in Bonn " became a real step forward" in the dialogue between both countries.

FRG TV Interviews Rakowski

LD2201225689 Warsaw PAP in English
2227 GMT 22 Jan 89

[Text] Bonn, Jan. 22—Poland's Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski, on an unofficial visit here, granted today an interview to central West-German TV station ZDF.

Talking with newsmen who were particularly interested in Poland's domestic issues, the premier corrected erroneous opinions spread here and implying that Solidarnosc was the only addressee of the proposal, put forth at the 10th PUWP CC Plenum, to make social agreement among whose provisions is the renouncement of strikes for a definite period. Rakowski clarified that the postulate of peace concerns also the currently existing trade unions and all social forces in the country.

Asked about the differences between the government and the opposition programs of the reforms, Rakowski explained in the first place that the authorities have a concrete program of overcoming the economic crisis which is currently being implemented, and that the proposals of the opposition in fact do not differ from the government offer.

Answering a question about the chances of the offer concerning trade union pluralism, presented at the PUWP CC 10th Plenum, Rakowski expressed hope that those chances will be used, as "we can search for common solutions, although we will not understand each other in many things."

Rakowski Meets Industrialists

LD2301234589 Warsaw PAP in English
2157 GMT 23 Jan 89

[By PAP correspondent Eugeniusz Guz]

[Text] Bonn, Jan. 23—Monday was the 4th and last day of Mieczyslaw Rakowski's unofficial visit to the Federal Republic and it was dominated by economic matters. Rakowski talked with Federal Minister of Economy Helmut Haussmann.

A meeting organized Monday by the West-German industrial-commercial chamber was marked by high interest and similar hopes for a decisive expansion of economic possibilities for cooperation with Poland. The growth in Polish-FRG turnover which increased by 20 per cent in 1988 is an optimistic sign.

President of the chamber and head of the German economy Eastern Committee Otto Wolf von Amerongen assured that "German economy unconditionally accepts measures taken by the Polish authorities to increase Poland's economic potential and also to intensify the bilateral economic relations."

The Polish prime minister said, while giving an elaborate presentation of the new principles of the Polish economic policy, that his government would follow the principle of clearing the way for economic freedoms, of broader opening to the world.

He then recalled the West's objection, frequently reiterated earlier, that any assistance to Poland is out of the question until it heads for national agreement. "We have recently made one more and very serious step in this direction. (...) The West should now do what it has promised. The debt is a heavy burden slowing down the pace of reforms and industrial modernization."

Rakowski was critical about the attitude of the Paris Club to Polish expectations but he explained that he by no means blamed all the club members. He voiced his expectation that the systemic changes taking place in Poland would increase the understanding for the Polish matters in the West, particularly in the FRG. "Poland wants to save its reputation as a reliable debtor. We borrowed 47 billion U.S. dollars in the 1970s, we have so far paid back 52 billion and we still have to pay 30 billion dollars. We made a new debt of 14 billion dollars in the years 1982-88," Rakowski said.

In Bonn Rakowski also talked about greater financial involvement of the FRG in some Polish investments and in rescheduling Poland's debt in the Paris Club.

Answering the question of how free are FRG firms in trading with Poland and in contacting Polish firms without mediators, the prime minister explained that over 200 firms are already enjoying such freedom.

He was also asked whether "the prime minister believes that the recent government decisions would be a motivation to Solidarity so much so that the people start working better" the prime minister replied jokingly that "if that happens I will be the first to lay a brick for a monument to Walesa." He added that he rather fears a wave of welfare demagogy, a race in making pay and other demands just to be loved by the people.

Economics Discussed

AU2301153789 Cologne Deutschlandfunk Network in German 1200 GMT 23 Jan 89

[Klaus Hofmeier report]

[Text] Before representatives of German industry, Polish Prime Minister Rakowski asked for confidence. His publicity show was spiced with a lot of wit, irony, self-criticism, and self-confidence. This self-confidence is based on the fact that the Polish leadership is apparently determined to carry out and enforce economic reforms—reforms that mobilize productive forces because the economy will be liberated from chains that are too tight. As Rakowski put it, one plans to recognize basic economic rules; one is seriously putting the stakes on the market, economic freedom, and changed state functions. At the DIHT [German Industry and Trade Association], he countered the accusation, made in his country, of selling out socialism piecemeal, with the question: What type of socialism is supposed to be sold out. It is much rather a sellout of foolishness that is taking place, even though this is the wrong picture, because nobody wants to buy foolishness, he said.

Rakowski indicated that the modernization of the Polish economy may lead to conflicts with the Solidarity trade union. At any rate, the Polish official expressed considerable skepticism before prominent representatives of German industry about the consequences of the legalization of Solidarity:

[Begin Rakowski recording in Polish with superimposed German translation] However, I recommend that you watch developments in Poland carefully, because I personally fear that not a single modern machine, not a single (?gram produced) will be added, once Solidarity is legalized in Poland. [end recording]

The Polish chief of government also anticipates a wave of demagogy in enterprises.

However, undoubtedly he is also very worried about the debts of the People's Republic. Rakowski said that the Polish foreign debt totals $39 billion. Debt servicing from 1982 through 1988 totalled $14 billion. Debt rescheduling negotiations with the IMF and the Paris Club, the group of Western creditor banks, are going round in a circle, the Polish prime minister complained:

[Begin Rakowski recording] We cannot even describe it as our traditional dance, the polonaise, because the polonaise consists of advancing. Thus, it is the krakoviak, because you dance the krakoviak in a circle. [end recording]

In his capacity as chairman of the Committee of German Industry for Trade with the East, Otto Wolf von Amerongen, the former DIHT president, took up this comparison and showed understanding:

[Begin Wolf von Amerongen recording] The Brazilians claim, for instance, that they dance the samba—two steps forward, and two steps backward. Therefore, Mr Prime Minister, the problem is less the problem of partners in the Paris Club who have no understanding, but the problem of whether the dance partners are prepared to learn a dance other than the krakoviak. I think that the Paris Club will then also be in a position to adjust to this. [end recording]

Rakowski was asking for recognition of his country's high repayment ethics, when he said:

[Begin Rakowski recording] I believe that this is my judgment, and this judgment [words indistinct]; we are partners whom you can believe. I remember that shortly after World War II, we repaid the debts that Poland

incurred before the war. Therefore, for us to ask the German Industry and Trade Association and the FRG Government to show understanding for our credit and financial problems does not mean that we intend to annoy the Federal Republic or that we believe that the Federal Republic is a very productive milch cow that we could milk. [end recording]

These words were not the only ones to be well received. The Polish prime minister has apparently impressed his audience. Otto Wolf von Amerongen expressed his respect for the reform course upon which Poland has embarked:

[Begin Wolf von Amerongen recording] What I have heard shows clearly that, by your reforms and by your policy of (?restructuring), you are creating decisive conditions that allow you to dance better with this Paris Club. [end recording]

It remains to be seen whether the way has thus been paved for new, successful rescheduling negotiations, and whether Western capital will go to Poland. One thing is clear, however. German-Polish trade is currently expanding considerably. From January through November 1988, the volume increased by about one-fifth, as compared to the same period in the previous year.

Rakowski Comments on Talks

LD2301193689 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 23 Jan 89

[Text] Ladies and gentlemen, a dozen or so minutes ago, our reporter—who managed to talk with Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski after his return from Rome—returned from Okecie airport.

[Begin recording] [Correspondent] Premier, you had a very laborious weekend. You met with many West German personalities. Did this visit fulfil all your expectations? May we expect some breakthrough in Polish-FRG relations?

[Rakowski] It is difficult to say whether there has been a breakthrough. There is definitely the will on both sides to achieve a breakthrough. One will occur when agreements which interest both sides are signed. There is no doubt, it seems to me, that my visit—although it was apprarently of a private character—nevertheless has already brought marked animation in the sphere of political relations. Apart from this it also opened the way to animation in the economic sphere. I am thinking here, above all, about credit problems and problems of our debt, which is quite high in the FRG. I would not like to appear too optimistic, but I think we can agree with the view that there was a certain breakthrough.

What do I expect? Well, I think that intensive talks by our plenipotentiaries await us—intensive ones, but without serious tensions—and also agreement in the sphere of further economic work, particularly credit policy and finance. [end recording]

Further Reportage

For coverage of Premier Rakowski's visit to the FRG, including his meetings with Chancellor Helmut Kohl, President Richard von Weizsaecker, and Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, see the West German section of the 23 January West Europe DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

Rakowski Toasts Iran's Premier Musavi

AU2401202089 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 19 Jan 89 p 8

[Speech by Premier Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski at a dinner in honor of Iranian Prime Minister Hoseyn Musavi in Warsaw on 18 January]

[Text] Esteemed Mr Prime Minister! Esteemed Iranian guests! I, to express my profound pleasure at being able to host in Poland Mir Hoseyn Musavi, premier of the Government of the Islamic Republic of Iran, and his entourage.

Contacts between our peoples have a history of over 5 centuries. The pages of this history contain much evidence of mutual respect, understanding, and interest, as well as many examples of a transfer of spiritual values and an exchange of material ones.

We highly value the Iranian people's contribution to the development of human civilization: to science, literature, and the fine arts. From rich Persian culture, the Polish language has adopted monumental works like Ferdausi's "King of Kings" and the poetry of Saadi, Hafiz, and others.

Polish-Iranian friendship consolidated during World War II, when thousands of Polish soldiers and their families received valuable assistance and protection on hospitable Iranian soil. We retain the experiences of this period in grateful memory.

The victory of the Islamic revolution in Iran opened a new stage in relations between our states and peoples.

Our contacts in recent years, especially the high-level political visits, indicate a conformity of stances on basic modern issues, and show that both sides wish to and are interested in enriching our cooperation in every sphere. This is a permanent basis for a further development of relations between the PPR and Islamic Republic of Iran.

I am convinced that today our relations have entered a stage in which we should proceed from mutual declarations of a desire to expand relations and fill them with new substance, to attainment of concrete agreements on ways of employing the potential inherent in various spheres of cooperation to the advantage of each side.

This, Mr Prime Minister, is how we interpret and this is what we consider the main objective and basic task of our talks and the talks between both delegations.

In these talks, we have paid a lot of attention to economic cooperation. This stems form the conviction that major progress in this mutually important sphere must be achieved. This is also in connection with the growing importance of economic and financial problems in modern international relations.

We realize the enormity of the tasks facing the Islamic Republic of Iran on the threshold of a period of postwar reconstruction. We confirm our readiness to share our experience and take part in performing these tasks.

I wish to state with satisfaction that our desire to expand Polish-Iranian relations has been reciprocated in the Iranian Government stance which you have presented, Mr Prime Minister.

Deserving particular emphasis is the fact that the official visit by the chief of the Iranian Government is taking place at a time when military action in the Persian Gulf has ceased.

Your decision to accept the UN Security Council Resolution No 598 fulfills international society's hopes and expectations for a return of peace and a normalization of the situation in your region.

Poland is in favor of the full implementation of Resolution No 598, and supports all initiatives and actions by the UN secretary general toward this objective.

We consistently hold the view that war and the use of force are impermissible in international relations, and that disputes must be settled by peaceful means.

This stems from our experience of history, for a picture of the tragedy and cruelty of war and the endless destruction and losses caused by World War II is still very much alive in the minds of the Polish nation. At the same time, we realize that the postwar development of People's Poland was possible mainly because of the establishment of peaceful relations of friendship and cooperation with all our neighbors.

Esteemed Mr Prime Minister! We note with satisfaction that positive changes are occurring in international relations, and that there is a growing conviction of the need to abandon confrontation in favor of activity to perpetuate peace and international security, enhance the disarmament process, and expand equal and comprehensive cooperation.

These trends ought to be perpetuated through the joint effort of all international society, in the interests of all states and peoples.

This must be accompanied by a full respect for the sovereignty and political difference of all participants in this cooperation, an observance of the principle of noninterference in domestic affairs, and an understanding of the historical and cultural conditions in which each country developed.

Poland was and remains faithful to these principles.

It is understandable that European cooperation occupies a central position in Poland's foreign policy. We want Europe to become a continent of peace, detente, and confidence, with a positive influence on the climate of international relations and the situation in other regions of the world.

These objectives and motives lie at the roots of numerous initiatives put forth by Poland at the European and international forum.

The plan to reduce armaments and increase confidence in central Europe, known as the Jaruzelski Plan, occupies a prominent position among them.

At the same time, we render our full support to other countries initiatives which serve the same purpose. We welcomed with satisfaction the Soviet-American agreement to eliminate intermediate and shorter-range nuclear missiles, believing that this will pave the way to further important disarmament decisions.

We are in favor of banning and eliminating mass-destruction weapons, especially nuclear and chemical weapons. That is why we received with hope the chemical weapons declaration unanimously adopted by the participants in the international conference that ended in Paris a few days ago. We are firmly acting for the sake of working out and adopting a convention that will ban the production and use of these weapons.

Esteemed Mr Prime Minister! The changes occurring in Poland call for a wide openness toward the world, and are encouraging a development of relations with all states, regardless of the existing political differences.

The countries of the Near and Middle East occupy an important place in Polish foreign policy. We wish to develop fruitful cooperation with them.

Dear Iranian friends! Our talks are accompanied by the conviction that your visit, esteemed Mr Prime Minister, will open a new chapter in Polish-Iranian relations and give them new impetus in the political sphere, as well as in the economic, cultural, and scientific spheres.

I believe the visit will create better conditions for the development of the cooperation that joins us, and will raise it to a higher qualitative and quantitative level.

On our part, we are doing everything we can to make proper use of the existing possibilities in this sphere, in order to consolidate our friendship and cooperation, in the interests of and to the benefit of the peoples of Poland and Iran.

On behalf of the PPR Government, I wish to convey to you, esteemed Mr Prime Minister, greetings and wishes of peace and successful development for the Iranian people.

Please also accept wishes of success for you personally and your government.

Musavi Delivers Speech at Warsaw Dinner

AU2401201289 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 19 Jan 89 p 8

[Speech by Mir Hoseyn Musavi, prime minister of the Islamic Republic of Iran, at a dinner given in his honor in Warsaw on 18 January]

[Text] In the name of God, the compassionate, the merciful!

Esteemed Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski!

Ladies and gentlemen!

I would like to convey cordial greetings from the Iranian people to the people of the PPR. I would also like to thank you, personally and on behalf of the delegation accompanying me, for the warm words contained in your speech, Mr Premier, and for the friendly reception that I have been accorded by the Polish Government and the Polish people. I feel honored to be visiting your beautiful country with its long history and at having an opportunity to establish close contacts with Poland's leaders and s people. I sincerely hope that my visit will impact creatively on the further strengthening of comprehensive relations between the Islamic Republic of Iran and the PPR.

It pleases me to be able to say that relations between our countries have expanded following the Islamic Revolution and that this is in line with the Islamic Republic of Iran's general foreign policy principles, which favor the strengthening of ties with all the countries in the world. This expansion accords with the desire of both governments—the Government of the Islamic Republic of Iran and the Government of the PPR—for the development of mutual relations. Poland is among those states that have engaged in extensive scientific, cultural, economic, and political cooperation with our country since the end of World War II. In recent years, cooperation in these areas has increased.

Your Excellency, soon after its victory, the Islamic Revolution became the object of aggression and various kinds of intrigues on the part of its enemies. Thanks to God's mercy, the leadership of his eminence the imam, and the sacrifices made by our people, all these intrigues, of which the 8-year war that was forced on us is an example, ended in a fiasco.

Your Excellency, during World War II, your country was the target of the aggression waged by the Nazi regime and other foreign forces, and the Polish people experienced the bitter taste of such aggression. We want to live in a free and independent state, built on the efforts and sacrifices of a people that has courageously defended itself for 8 years. We hold out a hand to all those who want to cooperate with us on the basis of the principles of mutual respect without any intention to exploitate or dominate. We have repeated on many occasions that our revolution is a revolution of values, of values that know no borders. So, it is obvious that we believe in the force of these values, but not in the sense of exporting them or of occupying the territory of other states, which is something that we are accused of by hostile propaganda media.

Currently, following the acceptance of UN Security Council Resolution 598, we have been persistently insisting on the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the region. We hope that other peace-loving states will also join efforts aimed at achieving this goal. As our great leader has said, Iran's acceptance of Resolution 598 is not a tactical move, but constitutes our strategy. However, we regret to have to say that the Iraqi regime is making the prospect of peace in the region more remote by setting preconditions during current negotiations.

The Government of the Islamic Republic of Iran hopes that the PPR Government, which resolutely opposes the use of chemical weapons, and asphyxiating and toxic gas during war—this being in violation of the Geneva protocol of 1925—and the use of biological weapons, will condemn Iraq's use of chemical weapons against the Muslim Kurdish population.

Stressing the important role of the United Nations Organization and its general secretary in the resolution of conflicts, the Islamic Republic of Iran calls for the full implementation of Resolution 598, as well as the general secretary's 4-point plan for the ending of the 8-year-old war. In light of this, the Islamic Republic of Iran condemns the setting of any kind of preconditions or the creation of other obstacles that can only delay peace negotiations, and it supports the 1975 Algiers Agreement as providing a basis for the settlement of the border conflict between Iraq and the Islamic Republic of Iran.

At the same time, the Islamic Republic of Iran voices its concern over the dangerous escalation of the arms race between world powers and emphasizes the importance that it attaches to confidence- and security-building in international relations. It supports honest and genuine efforts in the field of full disarmament, both nuclear and conventional.

The Government of the Islamic Republic of Iran is convinced that the unequal development of the world economy and the debt crisis that is troubling the Third World and underdeveloped countries is caused by the pursuit of a domination-oriented policy by the great industrial powers. Efforts should be made to establish a just economic order in the world economy. This can be achieved through expanding economic, technical, and commercial cooperation with developing states and the formulation of a strategy for economic development on an international scale.

Your Excellency, I would like to end by once again expressing my gratitude to you and the PPR Government for today's reception. I wish you, and the Government and people of Poland, success and happiness, and I will pray to God for this.

Ceausescu Receives Gorbachev Birthday Message

AU2501201989 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1920 GMT 25 Jan 89

["On Receiving the Soviet Ambassador Nicolae Ceausescu Is Conveyed Congratulations and Good Wishes From Mikhail Gorbachev"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 25/1/1989—Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, received on January 25 Ye.M. Tyazhelnikov, ambassador of the Soviet Union in Bucharest, at his request.

On his forthcoming birthday President Nicolae Ceausescu was conveyed on the occasion, from Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, from the other members of the Political Bureau of the CC of the CPSU, cordial congratulations and wishes of good health and happiness, of fresh successes in his highly responsible activity deployed at the head of the party and the state, to the Romanian people's benefit and happiness, in the interests of building socialism in Romania, of ever bigger achievements in the year of the 45th anniversary of the August 23 Revolution and of the 14th Congress of the Romanian Communist Party.

Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev, the Soviet ambassador said, expresses his confidence that the friendship between our parties and peoples will strengthen in future as well, and the Soviet-Romanian collaboration will expand and deepen in the spirit of the summit meetings in Moscow and Bucharest.

Nicolae Ceausescu warmly thanked for the congratulations and good wishes addressed and conveyed Mikhail Gorbachev his salute and best wishes of success in his entire activity.

Likewise, Nicolae Ceausescu conveyed a salute and best wishes to the members of the Political Bureau of the CC of the CPSU.

I too, am convinced and wish, Nicolae Ceausescu stressed, that the relations between our parties and peoples develop ever more powerfully, in the spirit of the understandings reached at the summit meetings in Bucharest and Moscow, to mutual benefit.

During the interview, President Nicolae Ceausescu was handed over the state distinction of the USSR "the 70th anniversary of the Soviet Armed Forces," conferred for his great contribution to the strengthening of the friendship and collaboration between the two parties, countries and peoples.

Daily Comments on Party's Leading Role

AU2501203589 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 19 Jan 89 pp 1, 5

[Ion Mitran editorial: "Increasing the Leading Role of the Party—An Objective Requirement of Building and Improving the New System"]

[Text] Within the framework of guidelines and ideas included in Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's vast theoretical and political work—ideas and guidelines strongly reiterated by the April theses and his brilliant November 1988 speech—the principle of further increasing the party's leading role acquires a priceless theoretical and practical political significance.

Examining the current historic development stage of Socialist Romania, the speech made by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu last November scientifically substantiates and enriches—with new theoretical contributions and profound arguments and conclusions—the concept according to which the Communist Party's leading role is a general prerequisite and objective law of the socialist and communist construction and of the constant improvement of socialism.

In this light, the ever stronger assertion of the party's function as vital center of the nation is a decisive element of achieving a new and higher quality in the entire socioeconomic and political life of the country.

The fact that, in the process of socialist revolution and construction, the RCP has emerged as the leading force is a result of historical development. The party has won the people's trust and love through a policy derived from the interests of the working people and the whole nation and from a deep understanding of the historical requirement of truly asserting the country's independence and sovereignty. Today the party enjoys profound esteem and boundless trust and is unanimously followed by the people, who are working in close unity to implement the 13th RCP Congress decisions. "We can state with justified pride," Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu said, "that our party has fulfilled and is honorably fulfilling the historic mission of leading the nation along the road of socialist and communist construction and of well-being and happiness."

In the 45 years of the historical process of building and improving the new system in our country, the Ninth RCP Congress marked a new course of accelerated socioeconomic development and improved socioeconomic and political life. Under the aegis of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's revolutionary and creative theoretical and practical activity, the Romanian socialist society has registered an outstanding upsurge, generated by the assertion of a new, original, profoundly scientific, and consistently revolutionary vision of the role and place of the party. Firmly rejecting both the triumphalist spirit and the defeatist optics, the party secretary general criticized existing shortcomings objectively and sharply and pointed out the ways and means to eliminate them

and solve various contradictions that have emerged along the way, by mobilizing the masses of working people and the whole nation in the work to successfully build the new system. Consequently, the Ninth RCP Congress unleashed the creative energy of the party and people and removed a number of set patterns and dogmas, thus paving the road for the fruitful construction of socialism with the people and for the people, while proceeding from concrete conditions prevailing in Romania and by unswervingly and creatively applying the principles of scientific socialism and generally valid truths to the realities of our country and of the contemporary world.

As far back as 1965, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu said in his report on the draft constitution that "in the conditions of the new development stage of our society, the party's role as organizer and leader of the entire work of socialist construction will further increase. Consequently, the fundamental law of our country sanctions the fact that the RCP is the leading political force in the SR of Romania."

The party has carried out a vast and fruitful activity of scientifically elaborating the necessary measures and solutions for our march forward and the for the organization and mobilization of the people, workers class, peasantry, and intelligentsia in the efforts to modernize industry and agriculture, deepen socialist democracy, and ensure their active participation in the entire social life. The great achievements obtained in this period have raised Romania to higher development levels, thus corroborating, the highly constructive and humanistic vocation of our party's policy, which is also the intimate conviction of all our working people.

Party policy has given priority to steadily expanding and consistently modernizing the national economy, on the basis of industrialization, of the development of all regions, of the broad promotion of the latest scientific-technological achievements, of the further improvement of the new relations of production, and of the development of socialist ownership, so that society can register a balanced and comprehensive progress, with a view to better satisfying the needs and requirements of the construction of a higher civilization. The results to date are proof of the correctness and the scientific, realistic, and mobilizing nature of this policy. Experience itself demonstrates the historic significance of the concern with enhancing the leading role of the party, strengthening its lively and direct links with the masses of working people, organically integrating the party in society, and ensuring that it directly manages, in various forms, all socioeconomic sectors.

A poignant lesson of social practice is that the exercise of the party's leading role has been and continues to be the decisive element of the profound changes that have radically altered Romania's aspect in the period after the Ninth RCP Congress, a period characterized by the strong assertion of a new political thinking.

One of the basic truths of the theory of scientific socialism, namely party leadership, also proves its viability in the form and content of the thesis according to which the party has the function of vital center of the entire society. This original theoretical and practical approach promoted by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu proceeds from the principled consideration that the party is the nucleus around which society revolves and that the party emanates the necessary energy and light to set in gear and ensure the functioning of the entire machinery of the socialist system. According to this concept, the Communist Party—which thoroughly masters the theory of scientific socialism and the materialistic-dialectical method of examining and interpreting the phenomena and processes of the domestic and international socioeconomic and political life—is the subjective factor designed to and capable of guiding the socioeconomic development in accordance with the action of objective laws. Thus, historical practice itself contradicts the thesis according to which the party need not bear direct responsibility for the implementation of socioeconomic plans and programs, but should rather allow economic sectors and units to solve problems as they see fit; this is not only wrong, but also harmful—actually it amounts to a liquidatorist attitude. "If the party no longer assumes responsibility for implementing its own program of socialist and communist construction," Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu said, "then one can justifiably ask what the party's role should be, if it is no longer required? The gap left by the party will lead to a void in the political and social life, which will undoubtedly be filled up by other political forces. No! The party cannot renounce its role without disappearing sooner or later."

Therefore, to behave as real revolutionary communists and to show responsibility toward one's own workers class and people means to firmly act against any liquidatorist trend of weakening the party's role; it also means to do everything possible to strengthen the party, its political, ideological, and organizational unity, and its leading role in all spheres and the entire society. This conclusion of particular theoretical and practical significance on a national and international plane strongly proves that our party is tackling the problems of its historic mission in a revolutionary spirit of great responsibility and that it is determined to fulfill its duties to the workers class and all the people, to the future of the new system in Romania, and to social progress in general.

As a matter of fact, the theoretical-ideological and political-practical concerns with the role and functions of political leadership are clearly emphasized by the current confrontations of ideas, as the issue of power is of basic importance for the future of society. Of course, one should take into account the socioeconomic nature of a given political system and its class essence; an idea often taken up by political science, in various philosophical forms and approaches, is that the power of historical assertion of a large collective group—within which the political parties play an important role—is measured by its ability to put its creative capacity in the interest of the

masses, together with the masses. In this respect—as the Marxist theory has demonstrated and openly maintains and as practice has shown and should further confirm at an even higher level, by consistently applying the principles of scientific socialism—the utilization of the advantages of the new socialist civilization depends on the creative, conscious, and militant effort to promote social progress. Such a contribution is an expression of the functional capacity of the political framework of the new system, within which the party of the workers class holds the central place, without taking the place of other components of this system.

Within the framework of theoretical and practical problems pertaining to the organization and improvement of socialism, a theme that is often brought up is the party's functions in the political system. In this respect, unlike in past times, the non-Marxist, and even the anti-Marxist political philosophy, no longer refers, as it did 30-40 years ago, to the "legitimacy" of government parties in the socialist countries—which was heavily contested at that time, particularly by various anticommunist theories—but rather to ways and means of exerting political leadership and to the structures of this leadership, which are equalled a priori and schematically with the bourgeois "model." Some such doctrines—which contrast the "multi-party" system with the "one-party" system from a so-called "democratic perspective" and set out from the preconceived idea of an "absence of democracy in the absence of more political parties"—bring up for discussion the alleged discordance between the uniform leadership and the "diversity" of social interests. An extension and apology of the "conflict model" characteristic of the capitalist society, the "pluralist-democratic" concept is but a biased ideological interpretation of this "model" as applicable to any political system.

Referring to the unscientific character of such a thesis, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu drew attention to the fact that it is not important whether there are fewer of more parties, as there can be true and broad democratic life with only one party, just as there can be no real democracy, with several parties. On the other hand, neither is the system of a single party a universally valid "standard," and this is yet another unquestionable truth: In the revolutionary process, the concrete historical conditions are shaping the forms and structures of social and political leadership.

The development of the new system and the optimal functioning of our society's mechanisms increasingly depend on the growing role of the party and on the constant adjustment of its forms of organization and activity to social changes. There are a number of objective and subjective factors operating along this line, among which an important place is taken by: the structural relationship between the party and the workers class and between the party, the workers class, and the broad people's masses; the elaboration, in close connection with the masses, of a uniform and coherent policy, which expresses the basic interests of the socialist nation and of all socialist categories; taking into consideration the general principles of scientific socialism and enriching them in the process of their creative application to concrete-historical conditions and to national peculiarities; ensuring a scientific leadership and improving social organization, in the context of the upsurge of the forces of production and under the impact of the advanced scientific-technical revolution and the modernization of the entire new system; raising the level of awareness and competence of communists and the working people in general; and the growing complexity of socioeconomic development and of domestic and foreign conditions specific to this process.

The goals and tasks of the current development stage and the requirements of improving the new system and asserting its superiority clearly emphasize the truth according to which, the more complex the tasks related to the application of general principles and objective laws of socialism, the more necessary it is to have a uniform political leadership. Such an interdependence is a key aspect of the requirement to increase the party's leading role and reflects the unity between objective and subjective prerequisites of the exercise of this role, proceeding from the general interests of society, in the conditions of social homogenization.

Quite alien to the revolutionary scientific concept are the theses and opinions occasionally produced by the foreign social and political philosophy, according to which the role of the Communist Party as a government party should be seen exclusively as fulfilling an abstract-ideological function, namely the "theoretical" elaboration of development ways and means, while their practical application should be left to other social and political structures and institutions, and sometimes to certain so-called "alternative" forms or forces, which is tantamount to stripping one of the basic principles of scientific socialism of its content. Likewise, one should also mention the equally one-sighted and erroneous concepts, which confine the party's political role to that of a mere instrument of power and a practical-administrative body.

In our country's social and political concept and experience, the strength of the revolutionary party—a prerequisite for the full implementation of its function—resides in the uniform blending of ideological work with the political and organizational activity and in the simultaneous exercise of all its prerogatives of social and political leadership, with emphasis on assuming direct responsibility for the fulfillment of the developed programs. It is clear that this process cannot be conceived as proceeding in accordance with patterns that were set once and for all, but rather as being in a constant flow, in accordance with conditions and tasks specific to each stage.

Drawing revolutionary and scientific conclusions from his analysis of the entire social development and emphasizing the party's function and role, Comrade Nicolae

Ceausescu said in his speech last November that "Any improvement of the economic principles and socioeconomic management must ensure society's development on socialist bases and should not pave the road for any kind of capitalist forms, which can only affect seriously future development, socialist construction, and the well-being and independence of nations."

As a unifying factor of the nation's efforts, that works and leads with the people and for the people, the party—and in this framework its bodies and organizations and the communists—operates in all areas of social life, namely from the production of material goods to the ideological and educational activity, from the activity of improving social relations to the scientific, artistic, and cultural life, and from the domestic policy to foreign affairs; in short, the party is present and active in all units and working people's collectives. Thus, the party asserts its leading political role in all its aspects, in a process that emphasizes the organic and indissoluble unity between the drafting of the overall political line and its implementation through a vast political and organizational activity within the all-encompassing system of our socialist democracy and workers self-management. "Increasing the responsibility of state bodies, of other revolutionary workers democracy organs, and of the working people's collectives does not run counter to strengthening the party's leading role and does not mean a lessening of the party's leading role in any way," the party secretary general pointed out. "On the contrary, the development of democracy requires as an objective prerequisite to intensify the party's activity and increase the responsibility of party cadres, of the entire aktiv, and of communists in all spheres, in order to ensure a proper functioning of these bodies."

The enhancement of the party's leading role is done while deepening internal party democracy and ensuring that the communists examine in detail and participate actively in working out and implementing the party's policy.

A telling example in this respect is the ongoing broad and profound discussion of the April theses; this discussion is an expression of the profound nature of the party democracy, of the revolutionary workers democracy, and of the strong unity between party and people.

The firm implementation of the principles of internal party democracy proceeds from the consideration that a law of party life says that party members should examine problems facing each organization and should actively participate in the decisionmaking process. Of course, a key requirement is that party members should state their observations, proposals, and opinions within party forums, where all problems are clarified. It is clear that—in accordance with the principle of democratic centralism—after the decisions were made, one should proceed efficiently and energetically to implementing these decisions; internal party democracy and the party working style will be enriched in the process of task fulfillment. In this respect, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu said that "it is necessary to continuously improve the working style and methods of party bodies and organizations and to strongly develop party democracy, by ensuring that the entire party discusses all problems of the domestic and foreign policy and that all party bodies and organizations and all Communists participate in the adoption of overall policies and in the implementation of decisions."

The efforts to renew work forms and methods and improve social organization and management are a vital prerequisite for the harmonious, uniform, and consistent implementation of such basic tasks as: developing the economy; modernizing industry and agriculture; implementing the new scientific-technical revolution and the new agrarian revolution; developing science and education; improving the activity of all social bodies; raising the material and intellectual living standard of the nation; and carrying out a true revolution in the sphere of consciousness.

All this means to do everything possible to preserve the revolutionary spirit and ensure that the party stays always young and open to all that is new. This revolutionary spirit and advanced attitude will be judged by the concrete results obtained; the activity of each party organization will be valued in accordance with the implementation of existing programs for socioeconomic development and for raising the working people's material and intellectual living standard.

The party's ideological program emphasizes that the great revolutionary changes that have taken place, the new socioeconomic relations, and the achievements of science and knowledge necessarily require the intensification of the political-educational activity of raising the working people's awareness and shaping the new man, on the durable basis of the revolutionary outlook about world and life, namely scientific socialism and the dialectical and historical materialism. Party bodies and organizations are called upon to proceed from the requirement according to which the new stage of socialist construction requires a new spirit of revolutionary struggle and work and an ever more efficient party activity, characterized by a strong increase in the overall spirit of responsibility, order, and discipline.

"It is necessary," Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu said at the recent working meeting at the RCP Central Committee, "that all counties should draw appropriate conclusions with regard to further improving the working style and methods and increasing the spirit of responsibility in all spheres of activity. It is not enough to just talk about a revolutionary spirit or make commitments; what is needed is work in a spirit of full responsibility! Everybody's activity—of county committees, people's councils, and party organizations—will be judged by the way in which they resolve problems, ensure socioeconomic development, and act to implement our plans and programs on promoting socialist construction and increasing the people's living standard."

Our party fulfills its role by ensuring full unity between the domestic and foreign policy; it sets out from the fundamental truth that its historical mission and duties to the working class and the Romanian people are discharged within the general process of mankind's evolution toward socialism, and in the context of countless international events and phenomena as well as of the fact that the new system, socialism, has raised the concepts of national independence and sovereignty— political categories of essential importance in the current stage—to a higher level. In this respect, the following principles of relations among communist and workers parties are of decisive theoretical-ideological and practical-political importance: equality, respect for independence, observance of everybody's right to work out their own policies, and cooperation and solidarity in tackling and solving problems of common interest. Observance of these principles represents today, in the conditions of a new political thinking, a prerequisite for the development and enhancement of solidarity and cooperation and for the achievement of real unity and of effective and efficient solidarity, which should rule out any kind of interference by any party in the affairs of other parties.

The great targets of the current 5-year plan and the theses and guidelines for the 14th RCP Congress set out from the current and future socioeconomic development requirements of the country. In the spirit of RCP Secretary General Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's concept, the party pays particular attention to constantly improving social leadership, in accordance with changes that are taking place in our material and cultural life. Our march forward along the road of building the comprehensively developed socialist society is a conscious and highly responsible social work, whose guarantee is the ever stronger assertion of the party's historical mission as vital center of the whole nation.

LCY Presidium Prepares for Session 30 Jan

LD2501220989 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2050 GMT 25 Jan 89

[Text] Belgrade, 25 Jan (TANJUG)—At the session of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, chaired by Stipe Suvar, the Presidium examined preparations for the 20th session of the LCY Central Committee be held on 30 January to analyze the current political situation in the country, the situation and relations in the LCY, and the work and responsibility of the LCY Central Committee and the LCY Central Committee Presidium, it was announced this evening.

Within the framework of examining the political situation in the country and within the framework of the preparations for the forthcoming session of the LCY Central Committee, leaders of the Presidium working groups briefed the members on the situation and activities in the Montenegrin, Vojvodina and Kosovo LCs, and members of the LCY Central Committee will receive special information on this.

The Presidium also examined the activities in the LCs of the republics and provinces to carry out the conclusions of the stances of the 17th LCY Central Committee session concerning the implementation of the cadre reform. The Central Committee will decide on the proposed changes at its next session. The Presidium noted that at the 20th Central Committee session and in accordance with the statute, and on the basis of the criteria adopted at the 17th session, as well as on the basis of resignations and personal requests, a number of Central Committee members may be relieved of their duties. At the same time, the election of new members of the Central Committee from the LCs of Macedonia, Bosnia-Hercegovina, and Vojvodina may be held, the communique states.

Reasons for LCY Plenum Postponement Explored

AU2501201489 Ljubljana Domestic Service in Slovene 1430 GMT 25 Jan 89

[Sandi Frelih commentary]

[Text] The situation in the country is being called an economic and political crisis. When considering the events in the LC, we may first recall the differentiation in Serbia, the incessant demands for the Kosovo officials to be called to account, changes in the Vojvodina party leadership, mass resignations in Montenegro, and friction in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Until recently, one heard accusations that Croatia keeps silent and does not take sides. The situation is also illustrated by rumors said to be circulating in the republic about various envoys. The interethnic relations are therefore allegedly aggravating. There are also reproaches, to put it in a nutshell, about liberalism in Slovenia and, of course, passions are being aroused with the accusations of Stipe Suvar and the demands for his resignation, and for an extraordinary LCY Congress.

The situation was perhaps best defined by Milan Kucan on Monday. He warned against the danger of a complete split in the LCY, which would be difficult to overcome or which we would not be able to overcome at all. It is well known what the threatening split is about: Will the LC encourage democratic processes in the renewal of the sociopolitical, economic, and its own life, or will it be a monolithic, commanding, omnipotent party that would drive an even deeper wedge in society with such conduct?

It is now clear that the 17th LCY Central Committee session did not fulfill the expectations and that disagreements were only temporarily swept under the rug, or that one kept his fingers crossed. Stipe Suvar made his contribution to today's LCY Central Committee session that was not to be with his announcement that he will wash the linen in public, or rather that he will reply to all the attacks.

The Presidium's decision that the session should be more thoroughly prepared, which is to say that the opening speech should receive unanimous support, may indicate either a fear of responsibility for an aggravation or an equilibrium of forces that does not allow any move. It is another question whether it was arguments or the representation in this body that counted. However, it does not make sense—at least not for the LC of Slovenia—that the LC of Slovenia still lacks its representative on the Presidium after Franc Setinc's resignation.

The relationship of forces may be determined in advance by the agenda: Should one first deal with the cadre questions or with the situation? This order may determine which way the scales will move. However, reason will perhaps prevail in the preparations, and the initiative of the Central Committee of the LC of Slovenia will be accepted: Let us persist on the directions of the conference and the 17th LCY Central Committee session, and let us discuss what unites us, not what divides us.

BORBA Breakdown on Vote for FEC President

AU2301130389 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 21-22 Jan 89 p 11

[B.S. report: "SFRY Presidency—5:2 in Favor of Markovic"]

[Text] As we have learned unofficially, the following SFRY Presidency members voted in favor of Ante Markovic as premier designate: Raif Dizdarevic, Stane Dolanc, Josip Vrhovec, Radovan Vlajkovic, and Sinan Hasani. Veselin Djuranovic, who had submitted his resignation as member of the SFRY Presidency, did not attend the session. Nikola Ljubicic and Lazar Mojsov voted in favor of Dr Borisav Jovic. [BORBA on 24 January on page 5 carried the following correction: BORBA on 21-22 January carried unofficial information

from which one can conclude that SFRY Presidency members Nikola Ljubicic and Lazar Mojsov voted against the election of Ante Markovic as premier designate. A subsequent check revealed that this was not true. We apologize to our readers and the SFRY Presidency."]

BORBA Praises New Premier Markovic

LD2101062889 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0422 GMT 21 Jan 89

[Text] Belgrade, January 21 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav daily BORBA today gives Engineer Ante Markovic, 65, credit for his courage.

The mandator for the composition of the new federal government will, instead of going into retirement, "sit in the hottest chair" in Yugoslavia since the country is faced with grave economic difficulties and is at the threshold of a major economic reform.

The organ of the Socialist Alliance of Yugoslavia—the most massive socio-political organization in the country—the daily BORBA presents the future prime minister in a commentary on the front page.

BORBA wites that Markovic is a fervent supporter of a market economy, a politician of enterpreneurial spirit and a man who has good business connections in the world. The daily writes that while still the manager of the firm Rade Koncar of Zagreb, Markovic supported a market economy at a time when it was a heresy in Yugoslavia.

Markovic does not regard the post of prime minister as a social promotion, he takes over when he believes the conditions are ripe for changes acording to his view of the economy and the government's economic policy in the country.

The daily portrays the future prime minister as a supporter of restructuring in the economy, a man who is not "fascinated by politics," although he held the highest offices in the Republic of Croatia.

Markovic is a man who receives signals from the working people, he knows to interpret them and react to them, BORBA notes.

Markovic opposes wage-freezes and urges that people be motivated to work better. He is for the promotion of those development programs which can help the Yugoslav economy become a part of the world much better and much faster, BORBA writes.

The times we live in have made us, for the first time, put our trust in a man who did not use the economy as a stepping-stone to the world of politics, BORBA concludes.

Former FEC President Mikulic Criticized

AU1901201989 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 14-15 Jan 89 p 4

[Zeljko Vukovic commentary: "Contract to Rule for Life"]

[Text] About 1,000 days ago, the SFRY Presidency proposed that Branko Mikulic, one of its members at that time, be the new president of the federal government. As a condition for his accepting the nomination, Mikulic asked his home republic, Bosnia-Hercegovina, for (and received) a guarantee that, in the event of his term of office being interrupted, he would be provided with an "appropriate position."

Why Mikulic, as a federal official and the candidate of the highest federal leadership for a federal post, concluded an "agreement" with the Bosnia-Hercegovina party leadership is only one of several dilemmas which are so important today in the election of his successor and the solution of the riddle of who made a mistake and when.

The fact that Mikulic sought the aforementioned guarantee once again warns that looking at federal officials only as personalized republican and provincial politics is in fact a "collective blunder." It is simply forgotten that these people also have their own interests, for which they are sometimes prepared to sacrifice general interests. Mikulic's desire to secure for himself in advance the "appropriate" political post, even in the event of his not being successful in his position as president of the federal government, is understandable. However, that desire is at the same time incompatible with the principles and orientations of a society which calls itself self-managing and socialist (?is it necessary to mention the norms of the LC). The reason, the fulfillment of Mikulic's desire and similar ones, means the most definite rejection of the results of work and ability as the basic measure of success and conditions of every political and social promotion of individuals.

There is no dispute that both Mikulic and the top Bosnia-Hercegovina politicians had to have this in mind while seeking and approving this "guarantee." They also had to know that their "contract" means that they released Branko Mikulic from responsibility in advance. Federal Assembly delegates were possibly able to sanction their mistakes—like the premier—with his dismissal. However, in this case, the "appropriate position" in his republic would be waiting for Mikulic. Why did Mikulic and the political leadership of Bosnia-Hercegovina conclude a "pact," despite the obvious harm it could do to society—the question whose reply reveals new facts, which will have to be respected in the election of the new president of the federal government.

Mikulic's reasons are hidden in his working biography. A political post was his past and present, but also his future. He is a typical representative of a stratum of professional politicians who are convinced that they

have a "contract" to rule the country for life. They do not respect the fact that their "withering away" is the prerequisite for the development of a socialist self-managing society, because these times require modern politicians who are orientated toward democracy in the profession in which they have made their name and reputation.

At a time of crisis, to sit in the hot armchair of the president of the federal government would be too great a risk for politicians of such standing. Particularly when the Federation functions as a loose collection of eight states. Experienced in the political "games" of these eight policies, Mikulic had to know that only one "unprincipled coalition" was sufficient for him to lose everything. Hence his demand for a "guarantee."

The moral to be learned from this: The new premier should not be a man of Mikulic's political standing. He must be a man who has a profession, and who found himself in politics because of his specialization, knowledge, and ability to conduct a policy whose main aim is the creation of conditions for a better life for everyone in the country. He must be a man in whom people believe, and who is not compromised. How, for example, was one sure that Mikulic was a fighter for the market and market relations when he actually scrapped "the market of superior politicians" by seeking and receiving the aforementioned guarantee?

In contrast to Mikulic and some other similar politician, a different premier will be able to definitively unmask all those who hinder mutual interests because of partial and other interests. During the last 1,000 days, Mikulic warned the Yugoslav public several times of the existence of obstructions to the Yugoslav program, but he did not reveal anything, even at the moment of his resignation. He should have done this for the well-being of the country as soon as he was faced with such obstacles. Because of these "unknowns," we have arrived where we are now in any case. Hopefully, we will not wait another 20 years in order to read these names in someone's memoirs.

Personal reasons were only one area in which Branko Mikulic could move as FEC president. The other area was his knowledge and orientation as a politician and economist. The third was his attitude toward the interests of those who certified the guarantee of his political longevity regardless of his success. It is no secret that Branko Mikulic's influence on circumstances in Bosnia-Hercegovina was much greater than the influence of the Bosnia-Hercegovina republican leadership on him. Even despite his superiority as "a politician for all times," as he put it, Mikulic concluded an agreement. That new legal regulations in Bosnia-Hercegovina would actually destroy the contentious guarantee and force Mikulic to "retire" is something which was not foreseen.

To what extent did the politics of Bosnia-Hercegovina really influence Mikulic as FEC president? First, it took away his "Yugoslav dimension," which is something a premier should have. This was done by unprecedented condemnation in advance of every criticism leveled at the federal government, the president, or their measures. The more "his" men defended, the more Mikulic's reputation fell in the other parts of the country. Why he himself did not stop such behavior from the Bosnian leadership, which was harmful to him, can be answered in different ways.

Second, and most important, because of his influence on the life of the central republic, Mikulic not infrequently "tested" federal government decisions (both before and after they were made official) on Bosnia-Hercegovina and its economy. The fact that Bosnia-Hercegovina business welcomed every FEC measure as "the real solution," even while the others had not been collated, must have been a signal to Mikulic himself that something was not right. The author of this article witnessed a conversation between Mikulic and the leadership of a Sarajevo collective. The report that was presented to him (about the effects of FEC measures) had been considerably embellished. Was this done out of a desire to flatter Mikulic and collect political points—the report was later proof to the federal premier that "matters were improving"—or for some other reason? It is difficult to say how many such "reports" existed.

The unjustified support of Bosnia-Hercegovina businessmen for FEC measures was most probably the consequence of the well-known and notorious "personal union" between politics and economics in this republic. The extent to which this type of support—a combination of political and "economic"—was useful for Mikulic and Bosnia-Hercegovina and the whole country is shown by the facts concerning our reality.

FEC Discusses Domestic Debt Situation

LD1901181289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1548 GMT 18 Jan 89

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 18 Jan (TANJUG)—Domestic debts, which have consequences as serious as foreign debts, should be legalized as a federal public debt. The problem can no langer be postponed because exchange rate differences amout to 60 trillion dinars [figure as received] in the National Bank of Yugoslavia. This was stressed at today's session of the FEC commission for the reform of the economic system.

Condensing the debate, which lasted several hours, Branko Mikulic, president of the FEC and of this commission, said that there was consent about transforming negative foreign exchange differences on the basis of foreign currency savings and credits turned into dinars. However, views differ on the fate of exchange rates which originate from foreign currency loans for the needs of the Federation. The FEC thinks that they

should remain in the National Bank of Yugoslavia, while the commission's working group is suggesting that these exchange rates be included in the public debt. [passage omitted]

Croatian LC Central Committee Plenum Detailed

LD2501024289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1035 GMT 24 Jan 89

["Croatian LC Central Committee Plenum"—TANJUG headline; monitored TANJUG transmissions did not carry initial portion of this item, transmission begins with part 7]

[Excerpts] [Dateline not received] Real answers to the crisis in the political system are to be found in the creation of truly democratic and competent institutions which are under the public's constant critical control, and in direct elections and cadre changes, as a continuing struggle to place the right people in the right places. In the democratization of society and the LC, we are struggling for social democracy and power for the working people and citizens, which will be based above all on the need to democratically make correct and responsible decisions to really enable us to overcome our lagging behind and which will make it possible for every individual to create his own happiness. This is the basis of the Yugoslav socialist self-managing synthesis. This is the strategic direction of the political reform established at the first LCY conference. [passage omitted]

Under conditions in which everyone is responsible for his own fate, it will be easier to specify what Yugoslavia's common interests are, how to reach them, and how to build their untiy. The unity of interests in Yugoslavia must be based on the interests of each of its parts, each of its nations, and each of its nationalities. Unity which is imposed, whether by one or several parts of Yugoslavia, cannot truly be unity for Yugoslavia. No one republic or one nation can have greater rights, nor can it impose its own criteria for unity in Yugoslavia and models for its development. This is why the idea that there are more deserving, more capable, or more democratic nations is unfounded. The theory about one part of the country being strong as a precondition for a strong Yugoslavia is also unfounded. The strength of Yugoslavia is conditional upon the strength of each one of its parts, and vice versa. The concept of a struggle for a strong, democratic, self-managing socialist and Tito's Yugoslavia, which is open to the world, is in fact the concept of the struggle to strengthen each of its parts based on a common Yugoslav socialist project.

The key areas of the Yugoslav crisis are often presented as the consequence of the nonexistence of unity and the nonexistence of a monolithic nature on the part of the LC as society's leading ideopolitical force. In this respect, the process of overcoming the model of socialist development which has existed up to now does not lead to concrete moves for reform and new social relations arising from the needs and demands of the times, rather there are attempts to establish unity following the categories of the old model. As a rule such a call for monolithic unity conceals a lack of capability to act for reform and solve people's specific problems, particularly in the leaderships in certain environments, which is best shown by their concrete results. It is almost a rule that where the least has been done, there are the greatest demands for monolithic unity.

We must be clear and precise, said Stojcevic. The statist concept of development—which by means of a strong state has in the past tried and today still intends to solve the contradictions in development and the opposition of interests in Yugoslavia—is irredeemably losing the potential to develop a modern democratic community. Equally, an LCY tied to such a state structure loses its membership and has broken off its internal relations and activity.

Believing that this kind of command structure can be renewed by having more adept and powerful people and born-again national symbols, and by finding victims and culprits is taking refuge in often told outmoded stories.

This illusion is created by the fact that the organs and leaderships' views on social subjects are not currently identical. We should not have the illusion that the processes which are increasingly gaining in strength will leave anyone unaffected and in peace. However, this is not even the most important thing. The basic principles of constitutionality and legality in the SFRY and adherence to the LCY statutes are today exposed to destruction. [passage omitted]

Stanko Stojcevic devoted a part of his report to attempts to incite unrest and instability in relations between the Croat and Serbian nations in the SR of Serbia. He called such attempts a direct onslaught on the equality and the brotherhood and unity of the Croat and Serbian people in the SR of Croatia, an attempt to dilute the Croat LC and destroy the SR of Croatia. At the same time this is an attack on the stability and foundations of the SFRY.

Each individual has the right to full national equality, development, and identity; it is the duty of society or a state to provide conditions in which these rights will be realized, secured, and safeguarded. The SR of Croatia's principal duty as a homeland and common state of the Croat and Serbian nation and all those nationalities living in it is the full implementation of national rights.

In recent months, primarily as a reflection of events in other parts of the SFRY, we have witnessed attempts to disrupt intranational relations in some parts of the SR of Croatia. Of course, their roots can also be traced to the effects which the crisis is having in the SR of Croatia, to all the weaknesses in the functioning of the system, and to the lack of development prospects. In regard to our own responsibility for the situation in intranational

relations, we must take additional measures to implement and safeguard national rights and to create a more favorable atmosphere in nationally mixed environments.

In resolving the Yugoslav crisis, a great deal is expected from the cadre renewal which the LC will carry out at an extraordinary congress. We in the Croat LC see the congresses primarily as an opportunity for formulating the LCY'S common policy on the issues of society's development. We consider talk about a congress talk about the future of the resolutions adopted at the first conference. This implies a need to identify both the forces and processes which have been obstructing our efforts toward social reform.

The arguments put forward so far have failed to convince us that the calls for an extraordinary congress have been inspired by the failure to implement the first conference standpoints. We therefore ask that its objectives, as well as other issues concerning its organization, be considered within a broad-based party debate as stipulated by the LCY Statute. The LCY Central Committee should use the outcome of the public debate as a guideline for making relevant decisions.

The Croat LC has lately been criticized for lagging behind developments in other parts of the country, lacking strength to launch initiatives, and remaining silent on many issues. In this way, the Croat LC Central Committee's political work so far has been judged according to the view that the policy pursued by the SR of Croatia is inadequate compared to allegedly significant or simply more aggressive strategies in other areas. On this occasion I wish to make it clear that the SR of Croatia sees the departure point from its policy as the consolidation of self-awareness and the capability of the system's principal factors and institutions to independently and responsibly resolve their development problems. The creation of strong, independent economic and social subjects has always been, as far as we are concerned, the main prerequisite for ending statism, for overcoming the LC's monopoly, and for strengthening self-management. This orientation has never tolerated any other political factor which sheltered other factors and their activities. [passage omitted]

Concluding his speech, Stojcevic said that discussion at today's session would actively contribute to the coming LCY Central Committee session. In this context we call on the LCY Central Committee and its Presidium to persevere in implementing the conclusions of the first conference and the 17th LCY CC session. We also reject unfounded attacks on the LCY Central Committee, its Presidium, and the president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, Stojcevic said.

The first participant in the debate, Tomislav Badovinac, requested that the Croatian LC Central Committee not only take an unambiguous stand with regard to the different political tendencies, but above all, on "the obvious, unscrupulous, and undemocratic struggle for power that threatens—by destroying fundamental democratic principles—to create chaos and turmoil in the country, something that would facilitate the creation of a reformed third Yugoslavia." Badovinac believes it is a matter "of a fierce struggle for power that, if continued, will push us into the abyss of bloody intranational conflict."

Two processes are in action: The first aims at winning power via the LCY and at reintroducing its function as a leading force, but "this time in a Yugoslavia that will function in accordance with a centralist and monolithic model, known to us as a Stalinist type." Others aim, by abolishing the LC and bringing other political parties onto the scene, at carrying out an alteration of Yugoslavia "in accordance with the model of separatist nonparty command systems." In both cases, Badovinac said, the idea of abolishing the equality of the nations and nationalities, republics, and provinces is put into practice. [passage omitted] [Transmission interrupted; TANJUG parts 15, 16, and 17 not received]

Apart from the energetic financial reorganization of the situation in Kosovo, the next most important condition for overcoming the crisis, Sardelic said, would be "resolutely breaking away from the further dramatization and destabilization of political events in the country." [passage omitted]

The recent situation and events are sounding the alarm, said Ivo Latin. In reply to his own question, "Is the reason for this the fact that we have not found a way out of the crisis or the fact that we have not respected joint agreements?"—Ivo Latin said that the situation was deteriorating because of the latter cause. [passage omitted]

Marijan Kalanj strongly condemned censures and unsubstantiated accusations addressed to the top LCY organs. He particularly dwelled on the fact that one and the same stand or procedure would often gain support in one sector, and be criticized in another to the point of demanding criminal charges. Are the differences between us so large, Kalanj asked, and mentioned the need to discuss ways of overcoming them. [passage omitted]

Zorica Stipetic warned about nationalistic sentiments cropping up in Croatia. Croatia rightly rejects this, because it sees that this is not democracy, but rather manipulation, in the first place because there are demands for revisions of existing freedoms, and in some environments this has even come about. Some people are imposing their own vision on others. [passage omitted]

Zvonimir Vebanac said he expects the upcoming session of the LCY Central Committee to provide an answer to the question: Were the actions in Vojvodina and Montenegro organized? If so, who organized them, who compiled the lists of leaderships who were to be toppled, and on whose behalf were they compiled?

Ivo Grzetic asked where the origins of the present situation were to be found, because all the values from Tito's time were "rapidly disappearing." In his view, the causes lie in the counterrevolution in Kosovo; but when it comes to establishing who has done what to resolve the problem, it has to be stated clearly that the leadership of the Socialist Republic of Serbia has done the least, and that the way in which it has done it is wrong. Milosevic mustered members of the Serbian and Montenegrin people, but never tired to rally members of the Albanian nationality, Grzetic said. He must be told that "his methods were not the correct ones," and that he bears responsibility for doing so. [passage omitted]

Petar Jurjevic said that "ideological confusion bordering on political chaos" has gripped the country. Despite constant decline in the standard of living and exceptionally hard problems surrounding making a living, people have become more concerned about their personal safety and the safety of their children. In his view, the forces defeated at the 17th session of the LCY Central Committee are fully on the offensive now, and have become more aggressive and organized in opposing reform. [passage omitted]

The 17th session of the LCY Central Committee brought relief which, unfortunately, was only cosmetic, Josip Kukuljan noted. Instead of turning our attention to the reform, we have caused the political situation to deteriorate to a disastrous extent. The LCY Central Committee and its Presidium should have been more determined in opposing those who have blocked the reforms and who are now singling those bodies out for criticism.

Kukuljan thinks that the LCY Central Committee and its Presidium were too flippant about Tupurkovski's statement about the "unprincipled coalition," as well as about the outcome of the vote of confidence in the Presidium at the 17th LCY Central Committee session. We can no longer afford any tactical maneuvering in defending democracy, the Federation, and self-managing Yugoslavia, but must openly name those who are blocking the policy of Yugoslav cohesion, which the Croatian LC Central Committee has always advocated. The Croatian LC Central Committee has the support of the people in this. [passage omitted]

Josip Vrhovec described the present juncture in the country as dramatic, and saw the attempts to change the character of the Yugoslav community as posing the greatest dangers. He therefore maintained that we must decide which values we will never abandon. The thesis "the people failed us" is particularly dangerous, since it implies that up to now the socialist development has not been based on the peoples' interests. This is why we must resolutely repudiate this thesis.

If Tito were alive, he would be speaking about the factional battle, Mladen Zuvela believes. Will we have enough guts to say the same thing at the next session of the LCY Central Committee, Zuvela asked. In answer, Zuvela said that we would sink even deeper into the bottomless crisis if we do not have enough strength to do this. There has never been a greater need for a session of the LCY Central Committee than today. A delay of even 1 day would be harmful, Zuvela believes. Who needs this delay and why, he asked, and sharply condemned the demands for an extraordinary congress, since the first conference of the LCY explicitly rejected these demands. Ending his speech, Zuvela also condemned the appeals to Croatians and Serbians in the Socialist Republic of Croatia, which call up sinister visions and attempt to cause discord.

Ivan Somen also stressed that the core of political conflicts is the realization of the program of the LCY's first conference. [passage omitted] Dusko Dragun stressed that the Croatian LC Central Committee so far has been pointing out what it supports, but in order to clarify this political line, we must now point out "what we are against." We must resolutely say "no" to every attempt to readjust political, economic, and social relationships, break away from AVNOJ [wartime parliament] Yugoslavia, and to the exacerbation of intranational relations, as well as to the insistence on emergency situations and measures.

Vjekoslav Koprivnjak noted that we have reached the "very depths of the crisis," and the ways out of it in line with reforms are being blocked because of political relations in society. He said that this is a decisive moment, in which a question arises as to whether Yugoslavia will develop as a modern federative community of nations and nationalities on an equal footing, or whether we are threatened by "neo-Stalinism." [passage omitted]

None of the LC members must stand aside, said Marija Koren, while Djuro Djurakovic called on all the members of the LCY Central Committee from the Croatian LC to support the reaffirmation of the stands of the first LCY conference and the 17th LCY Central Committee session at their next session. [passage omitted]

Boris Milat stressed that the support given to Suvar was not just support for one man, but for the policy of "Yugoslav synthesis." At the same time, he called for concrete talks on the responsibility of republican and provincial committees for failure to implement the policy of the first LCY conference, indicating the president of the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium as one of those most responsible.

Continuing the debate, Dusan Dragosavac recalled that Yugoslav Communists had successfully led two revolutions—the antifascist and antiStalinist ones, due to their anti-Stalinist course. Today, in Dragosavac's opinion, "settling of accounts in a Stalinist manner is being carried out" in the name of differentiation. As the latest example, he mentioned attacks on Stipe Suvar, adding that federal leaderships are being slandered "as if they were placed beyond the law." [passage omitted]

Jozo Petovic spoke in detail on the steps to promote the economy, especially after the adoption of new measures, laws, and systemic solutions. The initial results are encouraging and ought to be followed by new, even bigger ones, but the political crisis is threatening to destroy all this, and this should be taken into account at the next session of the LCY Central Committee.

Drago Dimitrovic, the secretary of the Presidium, proposed that the Croatian LC Central Committee precisely specify its stance on the issues which were raised at the provincial conference of the Vojvodina LC concerning an initiative to convene an extraordinary congress of the LCY and proposing to relieve Stipe Suvar as president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium. [passage omitted]

Like all the other participants in the discussion—in which, in close to 14 hours of work, 48 members of the Croatian LC Central Committee and the LCY Central Committee took the floor—Antun Milovic also supported the introductory report. He also reported in detail about the steps being taken so that the Croatian economy can achieve better results this year. Here he drew attention to the difficulties in carrying out some of the programs which have been outlined, including social programs. Milovic made special mention of Kosovo and the assistance of the Croatian economy to other less-developed regions in Yugoslavia. [passage omitted]

Stanko Stojcevic proposed that the Croatian LC Central Committee should adopt three stands, which was unanimously accepted. The first one is that the Croatian LC support the initiative of the 20th LCY Central Committee Session and clearly establish who had failed to implement the stands of the 17th LCY Central Committee session, and to base its attitude toward individuals and organizations on this. Second, the Croatian LC Central Committee maintains that it cannot accept the practice of unsubstantiated attacks on and disqualifications of any member of the LCY Central Committee, its Presidium, or president, and that it will resolutely defend everyone who stands by Tito's line. Third, the Croatian LC sets itself the task to elaborate in an even more tangible way its concrete acts in implementing the reforms endorsed by the first LCY conference. [passage omitted]

Because the time was getting late, the Croatian LC Central Committee decided to postpone the nomination of candidates for members of the LCY Central Committee, elected by the LC's of Bosnia-Hercegovin Montenegro, Macedonia, and Slovenia.

Stojcevic Speech Detailed

AU2601095689 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 25 Jan 89 p 3

[Seada Vranic report: Two Regressive Political Processes Are Strengthening"]

[Excerpt] Zagreb, 24 Jan—"The crisis, which has 'reached its bottom,' calls into question the Yugoslav socialist self-managing idea itself, and the responsibility of the society's leading force, the LC," Stanko Stojcevic pointed out at the beginning of his introductory speech at the session of the Central Committee of the LC of Croatia today.

Contrary to the program of social reforms and struggles during the course of the first LCY conference and the 17th LCY Central Committee session, two regressive political processes from which the LCY must resolutely dissociate itself ideologically and politically are continuously increasing. The first is basically an expression of the traditional socialism; it is a regressive interpretation of socialist development, and has its original principles in conceiving the party as the creator of history and the people as executor of historical will. Such a of party does not permit the existence of different opinions; it is a party of directives and hierarchy, and it tries to establish itself as a general formula for all social relations. That is why the reform of the LC is interpreted as establishing monolithic unity in the LCY.

How To Conceive the Reform

This ideological orientation basically cannot solve the fundamental developmental problems of society. Apparently advocating social justice, the power of the people, and struggle against bureaucracy, it itself reproduces a new bureaucratic stratum and a new bureaucratic relation through its support for state regulations and party domination. Although it keeps invoking AVNOJ [Antifascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia] principles in words, it is in fact striving toward rearranging and demolishing Tito's Yugoslavia in the direction of unification and unitarization based on centralist regulation and powerful party-state bureaucracy. Since it originates from one region, and therefore incites national homogenization in one region, it also leads to national homogenization in other regions, something which then serves as a justification for its own nationalism.

Within the ensuing political confrontations, it provides scope for all types of nationalism, which are basically anticommunist, anti-Yugoslav, and anticivilizational.

The second process, Stojcevic went on to say, is moving in the direction of political-party pluralism. Despite its insisting on many aspects of democratic relations and civilizational achievements, potentially and actually this orientation advocates another idea which is contrary to the idea of socialist self-management and socialist democracy. Demands for political-party pluralism are most often accompanied by national programs. Such national programs "force" their own particular LC into their "national interest," and, on the other hand, serve as a stimulus for strengthening unitarist tendencies in Yugoslavia.

The basic question is: How to conceptualize and carry out a program of social reforms based on revised ideas, principles, and institutions of self-management and its realization on democratic and pluralistic principles,

while being led by the demands of modern production forces? The foundations of this program as a Yugoslav socialist self-managing synthesis were indicated by the first LCY conference in its project on social reform as a reform of socialism on Yugoslav territory. The Croatian LC sees its responsibility, task, and future in its contribution to the articulation of this program and its parts within the context of a Yugoslav synthesis, and in the realization of this program and its elements in the SR of Croatia. Our opposition to all concepts of isolation, monopoly, and the imposition of aims, national, and separate programs comes from this.

Speaking then about the deepening of the social crisis and the increase in uncertainty, the feeling of impotence, and negative results in the economic and other spheres, Stojcevic said that social tensions are growing, which increase the intensity of the social dissatisfaction of workers and citizens, which is increasingly directed toward the institutions of the system. These pressures are caused by the inability of the subjects of the system, and above all their leaderships, to adapt the system's institutions to the demands and needs of modern economic and social development and the resolution of people's social and other problems, and to form and make them function in a democratic way. People, especially in the leaderships, have been late in facing the reality of the crisis.

The Basic Principles Are Being Destroyed

Stojcevic then recalled that under conditions where everyone takes responsibility for their own destiny, it will be easier to specify what the joint interests of Yugoslavia are, how they are reached, and how to build their unity. Unity in interests in Yugoslavia must be based on the interests of each of its parts and each people and nationality. Unity imposed from either one or several parts of Yugoslavia cannot be real unity in Yugoslavia. Not one republic and not one people can have greater rights nor impose its criteria for unity in Yugoslavia and models for its development. Therefore, the idea of more deserving, more able, and more democratic peoples has no foundation. Likewise, the idea of one strong part as a prerequisite for a strong Yugoslavia is also unfounded. The key areas of the Yugoslav crisis are nowadays often presented as the consequence of the nonexistence of unity and the monolithism of the LC as the leading ideopolitical force of society. As a rule, this cry for monolithic unity conceals an inability to act in a reforming way and to solve people's specific problems, particularly in the leaderships in certain communities, which is best shown by their concrete results. It is almost the rule that most demands for monolithic unity come from those places where the least has been done.

An illusion is created by the fact that at this moment the positions of the organs and leaderships of social subjects are not identical. We should not have the illusion that the processes which are increasingly coming into force will ignore anybody and leave them in peace. However, this is not even the most essential thing. The principles of constitutionality and legality in the SFRY and the statutory nature of the LCY are being destroyed. This is because certain parts are taking over the right to make judgements and final decisions without respecting the constitutional or statutory procedure for establishing legal or political responsibility. Adopting conclusions without giving a person the right to defend themselves and without including other jointly responsible subjects, pressures which bring into question the impartiality of the procedure, and the absence of reasoned argument on the basis of which conclusions are adopted, are only the most crude ways of violating adopted and legalized principles and violating basic human rights.

The idea of the necessity for unity to prevail in society and for the federalization of the LC is directly linked with this. Divisions are inevitable while anyone in a multinational community proceeds to struggle for their own people by opposing another people, and everyone has their own people. There is no unity from these positions, nor is there the possibility of anyone winning. One or two battles can be won, but no one can be victorious. Therefore we are stressing how the federal principle has been and remained the foundation for relations and joint life in the SFRY, and that bringing this principle into question also necessarily threatens Yugoslavia as a socialist community of equal peoples and nationalities, said Stanko Stojcevic. [passage omitted]

[The following two passages appear boxed within the body of the item]

Manipulating the People

Mass rallies, meetings, and gatherings have become a part of our political life. Of course, all such phenomena do not have the same cause or the same aims and demands. In some places, they are incited and organized by leaderships, and in others led by various organizational committees and are against leaderships. In some places, they are directed against political bureaucracy and favor the democratization of the system and more efficient solutions to problems, and in some they in fact serve to strengthen the national political bureaucracy and to make political life more monolithic.

We have not opposed the mass expression of people's will and cannot do so if it means the unblocking of institutions and the creation of conditions for democratic processes, and for citizens in one community to take upon themselves the responsibility for their own development and for making their own leaderships more capable. We must oppose these expressions if they serve the illusion that the causes of troubles lie somewhere else, among national and other enemies, that the troubles are a consequence of the socialist self-managing system, and that chances to solve problems lie in other aspects of Yugoslav relations. This is why we oppose the manipulation of the people that sets one people against other peoples or offers an illusion that there is a magic wand for a better life. (Stanko Stojcevic)

Thundering National Symbols

While national symbols are thundering undisturbed through Yugoslavia, unity can be only what we all agree about. The LC of Croatia does not take part in this thundering, and it does not want to do so. On the contrary, it has actively taken up a principled position, and it will persist in this. If we have less thundering and more mutual confidence, there can be even more unity and togetherness. Being the common homeland and state of the Croatian people, the Serbian people in Croatia, and nationalities living in it, the SR of Croatia has as its obligation and task to ensure complete realization of national rights within it. This is the responsibility of the LC of Croatia, both toward all living in the SR of Croatia and toward the SFRY, and it is its sovereign right and responsibility, which cannot be transferred to anybody else. (Stanko Stojcevic)

Protest Meeting in Plav Attracts Crowd

Police Intervene

LD2501194589 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 25 Jan 89

[Excerpts] We have just received a report from Plav, where a meeting is under way in front of the municipal assembly building. Slavisa Djordjevic reports:

[Djordjevic] Workers, citizens, and young people—members of the Montenegrin nationality—are today demanding the resignation of the municipal leadership. However, the Muslims and the Albanians are strongly opposing these demands, and since 1200 today a police unit has been separating the Albanians and the Muslims on one side from the Montenegrins on the other. At one point the Muslims dangerously pushed the police away, and an open intranational conflict nearly broke out. The Montenegrins are cheering Slobodan Milosevic, while the Muslims and the Albanians whistle the moment they hear Milosevic's name, and glorify Stipe Suvar. Both are cheering Yugoslavia, Tito, the party, and brotherhood and unity. Municipal leaders and Blagoje Lucic, member of the Montenegrin LC CC Presidium, tried to address the gathered people, calling on them to disperse and stressing that resignations will be discussed at a referendum. However, about 3,000 citizens, workers, and young people are still nto dispersing. They are completely separated on a national basis into two groups. Milan Filipovic, member of the republican executive council, and Branko Kostiv, vice president of this forum, have just arrived by helicopter. [passage omitted]

Slogans were then heard alternately: Slobodan—Freedom, Down With Slobodan, Slobodan Divided Us, This is not Serbia. What is happening today and this evening here in Plav has put more oil on the fire, aggravating the already dangerously disturbed intranational relations, for which a great deal of responsibility is certainly borne by the Plav leadership and the Bor forest industry combine, where the winds of intranational divisions began to blow. The initiators of the meeting, which is almost entirely disorganized, and which is making the intranational relations red hot, also bear responsibility for it. The evening is exceptionally cold, but the Muslims and the Albanians on one side and the Montenegrins on the other are standing with determination in front of the Plav municipal assembly, divided by the police.

Further Reportage

AU2501205289 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 25 Jan 89

[Text] Ethnic Montenegrin citizens and youths are gathered in front of the communal assembly building in Plav, Montenegro, demanding the resignation of the communal leadership. However, Muslims and ethnic Albanians are sharply objecting to these demands, so that lines of militia have been separating the opposing parties since about 1200.

Milan Filipovic, member of the Republican Executive Council, and Branko Kostic, its vice president, arrived in Plav tonight by helicopter from Titograd. Talks are under way among the representatives of the quarreling parties and the officials of the Montenegrin Executive Council.

Slavica Djordjevic, Radio Titograd reporter, says that ways to end the conflict are being discussed. He says that it is very cold in Plav this evening, but the crowd will not disperse.

Protest Ends

LD2501204589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2003 GMT 25 Jan 89

[Text] Plav, 25 Jan (TANJUG)—Sometime before 1900 the meeting of citizens in Plav broke off. It will be remembered as an example of the degree of division of citizens on a national basis. The citizens of Montenegrin nationality, who were the first to come to the meeting, called for the resignations of the entire municipal leadership, blaming it for divisions among the people. They shouted slogans in support of brotherhood and unity, Tito and Slobodan Milosevic, while the citizens of Muslim nationality [as received] cheered Tito and Stipe Suvar and shouted slogans such as "We do not want Slobodan." In such a situation, the efforts of Branko Kostic, vice president of the Montenegrin Executive council; Blagoje Lucic, member of the Montenegrin LC Central Committee Presidium; and Milan Filipovic, member of the Executive Council, succeeded, and the people dispersed. The problem will be dealt with during the night and tomorrow.

BORBA Examines Developments in Montenegro

AU1701102489 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 14-15 Jan 88 p 1

[Slavko Curuvija commentary: "Entering the Inferno of the Reform"]

[Text] At about 1500 on Wednesday [11 January], when, following the triumphant call "The people have won because they had to win," festive shots were fired from who knows how many pistols and when young men in fear of their lives literally dropped from the trees leaving behind many flags and banners—including the banner "Long live the workers class"—and when an indescribable mass celebration began, the onlookers could not help being affected by the euphoria of these "super people" (the words of a militiaman). However, there was still the question: What really happened in Titograd this week and where does it all lead? The question remained topical even later, when at around midnight the same day a group of street cleaners swept the empty arena, scene of the 2-day bitter political battle, collecting empty cartridges, banners, and large pieces of bread—something that had been discussed with great drama during the 2 days—and sweeping away the above-mentioned slogan glorifying the workers class.

What happened was—and why should one beat about the bush—a clash not only between the people and the bureaucracy but also between the desire to open up at least some prospects and those politicians who, with their weak and hoarse voices, spoke for years without any tangible effect about reforms, transformation, realigning.... The essence of the confrontation could have been seen immediately before the festivities, when it was already clear that the entire republican leadership had been simply swept from the political scene: the symbolic burning of an armchair in which was seated the figure of an old man wearing the glasses of the blind. That basic thread—the conflict between the accumulating discontent with the present situation and the politicians who do not have the strength to change the situation—was obvious during the next day, too. The people in the organizational committee of the meeting who placed themselves at the head of the discontent "led the game" perfectly and always with the wild approval of the 100,000-strong mass. The political leaderships probably acted as they were used to doing in the preserves of their forums: With panic, confusion, and even the demeanor of outrage—and with a large dose of the verbalism that even in this situation they could not shrug off—one by one they accepted the apparent arguments of a fait accompli and a lost battle.

The Republican Presidency and the Central Committee Presidium of the LC of Montenegro did not allow the public to witness their final decision. However, the atmosphere, some details, and the development of the session of the Republican Conference Presidium of the SAWP of Montenegro—which accepted the workers' and students' demands immediately and submitted its resignation out of a sense of responsibility, although it did not have to—showed everything: the superiority of youth, the confusion of "old things," the lack of courage, powerlessness, loss of prospects, failure to grasp the situation, and, finally, an unconditioned political surrender.

Something that is normally inconceivable under "peacetime conditions" also happened at that session. During the protracted verbalism led by the apathetic hand of Presidium President Ramiz Bambur and when there was a evidence of the incomprehensibly firm intention of all those present to speak—a young man of about 25 and dressed in a sweater came into the hall, raised his hand and said: "I am interrupting you." He added another three sentences: "The organizational committee of the meeting will resume its work. You should also appoint your delegate to it. You should come before the people with your public stance immediately!" Then he went out the same way he had come in, leaving the leadership of "the broadest front of the republican subjective forces" confused. His name was Srdjan Damjanovic. He was a member of the Montenegrin youth leadership and the now former organizational committee of the meeting. The session concluded only a few minutes later.

There is another detail from that session which says a lot and is bound to be remembered: The entire Presidium could not persuade Ramiz Bambur, president of "the broadest front of the republican subjective forces," to come before the people and read the Presidium's decision to resign. He strongly resisted doing this, giving the excuse of poor health and a weak voice. A female member of the Presidium saved him by saying that the person who would appear before the people should be somebody "who will read it energetically." Branislav Kovacevic was chosen.

The entire Yugoslav public had an opportunity to see what the same thing looked like at the extraordinary session of the Montenegrin LC Central Committee. Members of the Central Committee Presidium of the LC of Montenegro resembled people who have been suddenly, brutally, and unjustifiably struck by a natural disaster. Milica Pejanovic, member of the LCY Central Committee and the only woman among the leaders of the protest meeting, and Milo Djukanovic, who harbored the same political conviction, were of the opinion, which they expressed publicly, that "resignations are not the end of the world. There will be no deluge. Montenegro will continue to live and will do so in a better and happier way than before!"

Is the optimism of these two young people and their comrades, who were delighted by their victory, justified? Will the "political overthrow" carried out in front of the Montenegrin Assembly bring new programs to the Radoje Dakic Organization, the Aluminum Combine, the Niksic Steelworks, and the other failing giants of the Montenegrin economy, programs that will result in

greater accumulation? Will the weak republican economy find it easier with a new political leadership to support the huge superstructure, including the university, which has articulated the workers protest to a great extent?

Radovan Radonjic, member of the now former leadership, is of the opinion that "masters can be changed in the street, but problems cannot be solved there" and that the "pyramid with the wide base, in which republican leadership forms only the top, should be completely destroyed."

It seems that the protagonists of the protest have no illusions about whether "Radonjic's pyramid" should also be destroyed. From the statements that members of the organizational committee were giving journalists while hurrying through the corridors of the Montenegrin Assembly building between two duties, one can see that they are aware of the fact that "the new government, however capable, will be unable to take any steps forward if the mechanisms that made the old one rule as it did are not changed" and that the entire Montenegrin economy must "clearly go through the inferno of the reform." They found it crystal clear, just as citizens of Montenegro did, that the "old government" was not capable of making any moves forward and even less of bringing them into and out of the "inferno of the economic reform." That is why they overthrew it. And if it is clear to them that by taking over the political helm they are also assuming the main responsibility for the outcome of the economic reform, only then will this energy of the people's discontent which has been used to overthrow the old leadership be a constructive political act.

The Montenegrin political youth has publicly burnt the armchair with the blind old man and will now use its legitimate and natural optimism probably along with a lot of inevitable illusions to fight for democratic elections that would result in "new government" and new prospects. Yugopolitics could be twice as helpful here: It can first help it to realize that the symbolic burning of the armchair was bound to happen and, second, to accept the fact that meetings will continue to overthrow leaderships so long as these leaderships continue with that self-satisfied belief in the permanent nature of their political monopoly.

Trade Union Federation Discusses Montenegro

LD1901042089 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1326 GMT 18 Jan 89

[Text] Belgrade, 18 Jan (TANJUG)—The leadership in Montenegro was not dismissed by the street and the crowds, but by the working class. It is not some kind of new, but rather a more efficient and rational system that was being asked for in Montenegro, it was said at today's session of the Yugoslav Trade Union Federation Council, which was held to discuss the current situation in the Montenegrin Trade Union Federation.

For understandable reasons, the events in this republic were examined within the context of the general situation in the country. According to Marjan Orozen, this situation is characterized by a state of high political and social tension.

Serbian LC Expanded Presidium Holds Session

LD2501214389 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1634 GMT 25 Jan 89

[Text] Belgrade, 25 Jan (TANJUG)—The immediate tasks of the 17th session of the LCY Central Comittee have not been implemented, and a series of serious political omissions and errors have been made: the unsuccessful and never completed joint session of the LCY Central Committee Presidium and the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium; delay in making assessments of the November demonstrations in Pristina and the failure to implement conclusions on the responsibility among the Kosovo LC leadership; and delay in making assessments of the events in Novi Sad; the failure to implement cadre renewal in the LCY Central Committee and its Presidium. The situation in the SR of Montenegro has been wrongly evaluated, and support for the republican leadership has been arbitrarily enforced.

This was stressed at yesterday's session of the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium in expanded composition (and presided over by Slobodan Milosevic), at which the current political situation in the SR of Serbia and Yugoslavia and ideopolitical developments in the LC were considered by way of preparations for the forthcoming 20th LCY Central Committee session.

Participating in the work of the session were members of the LCY Central Committee from the Serbian LC, presidents of the republican organs of sociopolitical organizations, presidents of intermunicipal conferences of the Serbian LC, and chairmen of Serban LC Central Committee commissions. Ratomir Vico, member of the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium, gave the introductory report.

At the session, it was assessed that the current political situation in our country has been stemming, over a long period, from the very same fundamental problems, which are not being resolved. These are, above all, the problem of counterrevolution in Kosovo and all the questions connected with this, including the constitutional changes in the SR of Serbia, the economic and social crisis in our country, and the reforms which should be implemented.

Everything which has been happening in political life recently, from popular meetings and political confrontation about their role and significance, to the replacement of the bureaucratized leaderships, as well as the current crisis in the leadership of the LCY Central Committee, is in essence only the external manifestation of the situation—present for so long and unfavorable—in the resolution of the Kosovo drama, and in the halting of

genocide over the Serbian and Montenegrin people, as well as delay in resolving the socioeconomic crisis. The curent political events represent a manifestation of resistance to inevitable changes. This is why it is a mistake to deal primarily with the phenomena in which political conflicts are being expressed in connection with the failure to resolve the essential problems of Yugoslavia. The causes which lead to these conflicts must always be kept in mind.

The Serbian LC has opted for emergence from the crisis on self-managing bases; for the strengthening of Yugoslavia as a community of equal and fraternal nations and nationalities; for the equality of working people and citizens; and for an economy and market freed from republican, provincial and municipal barriers and from the voluntaristic interference of policy in economic decisions, as well as for an efficient federation.

The Serbian LC has opted for a policy, i.e., a political life, in which the joint and general interest is brought about by democratic means, and in which the replacement of mistaken and failed concepts, leaderships, and individuals by the exponent of new socialist self-managing alternatives of social and economic life is ensured.

The SR of Serbia and the Serbian LC firmly support the positions in the program of economic stabilization, and they are for complete economic and social reform as a vital precondition for lasting emergence from the crisis. The Serbian Presidency's Commission for Questions of Economic Reform has come up with a series of concrete proposals in line with these changes. These proposals have been fully supported, not only in Serbia, but have also been positively received throughout the country, and outside it as well.

At the Serbian LC conference, a new program of the activity of members and organizations of the LC in the realization of the concept of the reform was adopted. In Serbia, industrial production is starting to grow, along with the process of economic restructuring, which has alredy begun in the direction of production leading to high accummulation. An active social policy, housing reform, social reforms, and a complete program for the rationalization of the social superstructure has also begun.

The counterrevolutionary events of Kosovo in 1981 dramtically revealed the reality in which, thanks to bureaucratic isolation and narrow-mindedness, the process of nationalist indoctrination under duress from Albanian nationalism, the process of the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins, and the establishment of a so-called ethnically pure Kosovo—as a condition for the achievement of the nationlist goal concerning greater Albania—was able to blossom for so long.

There is no justification whatsoever—not for any institution in the country from the provinces to the Federation—for the fact that today, after 8 years, the conditions have not been created in Kosovo for the secure and equal life of all people so that children and mothers can sleep peacefully. Many individuals and institutions, including the highest organs, have, by what they have done or failed to do, disputed, frustrated, and thus blocked the struggle for the final smashing of the counterrevolution of Albanian nationalists and separatists.

The Serbian LC and the whole republic are fully involved in carrying out their own obligations with the aim of consistently implementing the political course of the Ninth LCY Central Committee Plenum, the immediate tasks of the 17th LCY session, and the Yugoslav program on Kosovo. The changes to the Constitution—the adoption of which will ensure that the SR of Serbia has an equal status with other republics—are in their final phase, something which will make a vital contribution to the final resolution of the problems in Kosovo.

The decisions of the Vojvodina LC extraordinary conference have led to the continuation of the powerful process of democratization in the LC and the political life of this province. The working class and the working people, members of the LC, youth, and veterans have become a decisive factor in political and social life. They have replaced the bureaucratized leadership and individuals and exponents of a policy of bureaucratic and excessive autonomy over many years.

The working class and the nation and nationalities of Vojvodina are for the rapid resolution of the Kosovo drama, for constituting the SR of Serbia as a state throughout all of its territory, for the true essence of autonomy, for unity in the SR of Serbia, and for brotherhood and unity in Yugoslavia.

At the eighth Serbian LC Central Committee session, differentiation was carried out in the leadership of the Serbian LC because of differing attitudes toward the resolution of the problems in Kosovo. This differentiation was the consequence of a conflict in the attitude toward the resolution of the most serious social problems. In Vojvodina the replacement of the leadership, which was bureaucratic and in favor of excessive autonomy, came about as a result of the attitude of this leadership—something unacceptable to the people—toward the resolution of problems in Kosovo and, in connection with this, toward the proposed changes to the Constitution of the SR of Serbia.

The popular protest and the replacement of the Montenegro leadership were also prompted by the leadership's mistaken attitude toward the efforts to resolve key social problems. It is therefore unacceptable to separate these events and assess them without reference to the causes underlying them.

The developments over the last 12 months indicate that a large amount of social energy, which should have been directed toward resolving the main social problems, has been lost. While various forums debated the form which

the events took, the crisis in Kosovo continued to deepen, and relations in and among the leaderships were exacerbated. For years there has been strong verbal support for reform, while its main opponents were to be found in the top leaderships themselves.

The immediate tasks set by the 17th LCY Central Committee session failed to be implemented, and a whole series of political mistakes and errors was committed: the unsuccessful and unfinished session of the LCY Central Committee Presidium and the Presidium of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee; delays in assessing the November demonstrations in Pristina and the failure to implement the conclusions on the accountability of the Kosovo LC leadership; delays in assessing the events in Novi Sad; and the failure to carry out cadre renewal in both the LCY Central Committee and its Presidium. The situation in Montenegro was wrongly assessed and support for the republic's leadership overblown.

At its culmination point, the crisis appears to be a clash between the leaderships, while people are forgetting that the clash is a reflection of deep differences in the views of ways to tackle the issues concerning the country's future and the fact that we are witnessing bureaucratic resistance to inevitable changes.

The country's problems cannot be resolved when there are conficts in the leadership. It is vital that the country acquires a leadership which is sufficiently competent and sufficiently united to ensure that we emerge from the crisis. People are seriously worried about the future of Yugoslavia. The LCY and the Central Committee have enormous responsibility to see that events do not develop destructively, which is a real danger.

To understand the current sociopolitical situation, the reality of differing social circumstances in individual parts of the country must be borne in mind. In the SR of Serbia political differentiation and the mobilization of working people and citizens to resolve the major political and social problems ocurred in a timely fashion. The timely nature of the political action and the energy put into resolving particularly the question of Kosovo, the Serbian Constitution and the reforms, as true and just popular demands, has led to unity between the membership of the LC, the leadership, and the people.

As a result of hesitation over setting about the changes, and the failure to understand the mood, wishes, and will of the working class and people, and because of open conflict with citizens, some leaderships were bound to fall. Where there were no changes, the leadership's fear of demands for changes and the fear for their positions and social standing, which are defended frantically, prevailed. Criticism of, and attacks on, the environments in which democratic processes are at work and in which great social changes have begun, are used as arguments to defend the bureaucratic positions of leaderships which are obviously doing all they can to maintain their positions and even cause divisions and sow dissent among the Yugoslav people by tried and tested means.

Instead of immediately meeting the demands and needs of the working class and people so that we could more efficiently resolve the problem of Kosovo and implement the reform, the leaderships which feel threatened under the pressure of the interests of the workers and citizens are counting how many federal units are for and how many against this or that coalition. Resolving the social crisis and the country's survival do not depend on some kind of a balance of coalitions, but on general progress and harmony among the citizens and nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia.

Is is high time to constitute a political leadership in Yugoslavia which would once and for all forget such shameful slogans as "Divide and Rule," "Weak Serbia—strong Yugoslavia," and others which, unfortunately, to a large extent influenced the awareness of some politicians who did an enormous damage to our community and its unity.

The Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium supported the decision of the extraordinary session of the Vojvodina LC in connection with convening an emergency congress of the LCY and thinks that the LCY Central Committee should take all the measures envisaged in the statute and embark on the preparations. At the same time the Presidium proceeds from the demand voiced by a large number of LC organizations and leaderships, municipal committees, the Belgrade League of Communists City Committee, and also from the stand of the First LCY Conference, whereby all statutory measures should be applied to effectively bring about the reforms and overcome the economic and social crises more speedily, unless its fundamental stands are realized by the end of 1988 [as received].

In this situation an extraordinary LCY congress is the only way to obtain a new leadership [words indistinct]. LCY members have enough inherent progressiveness, unity, and ability to make a revolutionary contribution to the efforts to overcome this difficult situation.

In preparing for the congress we must step up the activities to suppress counterrevolution in Kosovo, to carry out constitutional changes in the SR of Serbia, and implement the reforms which are on the agenda. Failure to do this will jeopardize the successful outcome of the congress.

Therefore, in this period responsibility should be heightened and the Serbian LC will fully contribute to this. This Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium joins a great number of Communists, LC basic organizations and leaderships, and the extraordinary conference of the

Vojvodina LC in their demand that Comrade Stipe Suvar should be replaced as president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium.

Due to obvious mistakes and shortcomings in his work and in the management of the Presidium's work and the failure to produce results in implementing the conclusions of the Presidium and the Central Committee, thereby causing disunity in the Presidium and the Central Committee, and giving rise to mistrust and divisions among the nations and nationalities in Yugoslavia, he has lost the confidence and respect of the LC rank and file and the working people and citizens in the SR of Serbia.

As far as the office of the president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium is concerned, a principled attitude dictates that this position can only be occupied by someone who enjoys a minimum of trust in all the LCs of which the LCY is comprised. Lack of trust by the Vojvodina LC and the Serbian LC disqualifies anybody who holds a position in which he is obliged to act in these particular LCs.

The president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium ought to have the support of all the parts of the LCY. This does not question the right of the Croat LC to decide on who is to represent it in the LCY Central Committee.

The attempt to proclaim criticism of the President of the LCY Central Committee Presidium as an attack on the Croatian people and the SR of Croatia—which is a blatant lie—is politically unacceptable. Stipe Suvar has not been criticized because he is from the Croatian LC but because of his own errors and failings in the performance of the most responsible office in the LCY.

The stance of the Central Committee Presidium [words indistinct] the LCY Central Committee are first considering cadre changes. This request has been made in a particularly sharp form as it relates to members of the LCY Central Committee from Vojvodina. No one has the right to prevent the Vojvodina LC from being represented in the LCY Central Committee, even if it is only for one session.

In connection with some of the statements made at the Croatian LC Central Committee session, which individual participants drew attention to during the session, the Serbian LC Central Committee notes with regret that in some environments in our country individuals are still unable to understand, and some are even unable to reconcile themselves to the fact that the SR of Serbia is equal to other republics.

The Serbian LC is not taking upon itself the right to resolve problems in the SR of Croatia, nor in any other republic. Communists, working people, and citizens in each republic are the only ones called upon to do this. This is why it is expected that these same rights of communists, working people, and citizens of Serbia are treated in the same way, on the basis of equality, so that we all, together and equally, resolve the common problems in Yugoslavia.

The sooner it is understood that no one, other than the working people and citizens and communists of Serbia, can decide on the present and future of Serbia, the easier it will be for all of us together to solve the difficult problems of the Yugoslav crisis, in the interest of all the republics and of all our nations and nationalities and in the interest of brotherhood and unity.

Serbian, Vojvodinan LC Stances Outlined

AU1801160189 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 11 Jan 89 p 4

[Text of the Stances of the Serbian LC Central Committee Fresidium and the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee Presidium: "Need To Regain Membership's and People's Trust"]

[Text] At a joint session held in Belgrade on 5 January, the Presidium of the Serbian LC Central Committee and the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee Presidium discussed the current ideological-political situation in the Vojvodina LC, the tasks concerning cadre renewal, the Vojvodina LC organs' and forums' preparations for the extraordinary conference of the Vojvodina LC, and the Vojvodina LC's readiness to carry out the tasks contained in the reforms. The following stances were adopted at the session:

1. Noticeable progress has been made in the consolidation of progressive forces, which are an exponent of cadre changes in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina, and cadre changes in the Vojvodina LC. The process of positive changes has taken place in many spheres of social life. The Vojvodina LC's activities are being intensively carried out in all basic LC organizations, communal committees, and all Vojvodina LC organs, and are strengthening the democratic forces which are implementing the social reform.

A profound democratization process has taken place in the LC and in the political life of the province in general. The workers class, working people, LC members, youth, and veterans have become the decisive factor on the public and political scene. They have withdrawn their confidence in the leadership and in some individuals who wanted at any price to realize their policies by ignoring the interests of the workers class, working people, and, citizens. The political action of the Vojvodina LC is currently characterized by its mass scale, a high degree of criticism, initiatives, and readiness to fully carry out their obligations and responsibilities.

2. The cadre renewal is the most important and most urgent task in preparing the Vojvodina LC for implementing economic and social reforms. Changes in the Constitutions of the SFRY and the SR of Serbia and in the economic system should be used as much as possible

in order to carry out an aggressive development strategy with complete reliance on the existing development advantages, and to create new ones. Therefore, bearing in mind the stances of the Serbian LC Conference on the economic and social reform, the extraordinary conference of the Vojvodina LC should establish the tasks of the Communists in the basic LC organizations on restructuring the economy in line with new development programs, especially in agriculture, and in the spheres of science, education, culture, and social activities in general. This is why it is necessary that all these basic LC organizations, all Communists, the workers class, and the broadest strata of the working people participate most directly and contribute to the implementation of the reform.

3. A radical cadre renewal in the organs and forums of the Vojvodina LC, on the basis of the established stances of the Serbian LC and Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee, must be founded on the principles of the cadre policy and should contribute to the democratic transformation and strengthening of the ideopolitical unity of the LC and the unity in action. This means that without the support of the basic organizations and communal committees, one cannot be elected to any post. This will prevent the candidature of and election to political posts of those who oppose unity and togetherness in the SR of Serbia; changes in the Constitution of the SR of Serbia; overcoming problems in Kosovo, and all those who turned themselves into bureaucrats and who turned a deaf ear to the demands of the workers class, Communists, citizens, peoples, and nationalities of Vojvodina.

It is necessary to elect the cadres who have demonstrated through their expert and ideological-political commitments, results, and moral reputation that they are capable of being consistent in in carrying out the policy of the LC, the policy of reforms, and brotherhood and unity in the SR of Serbia and Yugoslavia. Communists from the ranks of all peoples and nationalities must be equally represented in LC organs.

The entire cadre renewal and ideopolitical differentiation must also include a process of establishing the collective and individual accountability of all those who hold public and political posts. A criticism in an antibureaucratic and communist spirit by certain individuals and forums must be principled, well-argued, and based on the foundations of the LC Statute.

4. One of the most important tasks at present is to successfully complete changes in the Constitution of the SR of Serbia. During the public debate, the workers, peoples, and nationalities opted without reserve for constitutional changes which will ensure that the SR of Serbia is constituted as a republic and a self-managing community, which will in turn strengthen unity and togetherness in the republic and ensure the sovereign rights which Serbia should have as a state. As has already been mentioned on several occasions, this will not threaten the autonomy of the provinces, nor will it threaten the equality of the peoples and nationalities. At present it is very important to complete the constitutional changes and to apply the constitutional provisions to real life. The Communists, leaderships, peoples and nationalities will fully support and contribute to this.

5. The further development of interethnic relations on the basis of national equality, socialist self-management, and the brotherhood and unity of the people and nationalities in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina are a permanent task. This task must be based on the relevant congress resolutions and on the documents of the LCY, LC of Serbia, and the LC of Vojvodina.

6. It is the duty of the Communists and the leadership of Vojvodina to consistently and fully carry out their obligations, which stem from the Yugoslav program for Kosovo and the conclusions of the ninth LCY Central Committee session, and in this way express their responsibility for and contribution to ultimately breaking the counterrevolution and overcoming the serious political situation in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo.

7. All ideopolitical activities of the Vojvodina LC should be based on the views of the party membership and the will of the workers class, working people, and citizens. In this way the LC will regain the trust of its broadest membership and people, successfully resolve social problems in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina, and carry out the policy of reforms.

Prijepolje Workers Protest; Urge Resignations

LD2501135389 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1254 GMT 25 Jan 89

[Text] Prijepolje, 25 Jan (TANJUG)—In Prijepolje, a protest meeting has begun of workers of the Ljubisa Miodragovic textile combine who have been joined by workers of numerous collectives, as well by as citizens and young people from the Prijepolje Municipality.

In the open area in front of Revolution House [Dom Revolucije], there are currently about 10,000 people who are supporting the demands of the textile combine workers, which include the demand that the municipal leadership immediately submit its resignation. Half an hour before the start of this mass meeting, a meeting of brotherhood and unity ended outside the municipal assembly, at which about 1,500 sympathizers gave their full support to the municipal leadership—in other words, to the stances of the municipal LC committee which had called for the postponement of the textile workers' meeting.

Leaders Resign

LD2501165289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1557 GMT 25 Jan 89

[Text] Prijeopolje, 25 Jan (TANJUG)—At an extraordinary session of the Municipal Committee of the LC and at the demand of about 10,000 workers and citizens of

the Prijepolje Municipality, Mile Divac and Dzemail Iglica; Hadzo Musovic and Uros Kijanovic, the president and secretary of the LC Municipal Committee; Nenad Martinovic; the president of the municipal conference of the SAWP; Cedomir Bontic, the president of the Executive Council of the municipal assembly; and Vojko Novkoric, the president of the Municipal Council of Trade Unions, have tendered their irrevocable resignations. The collective resignation was tendered by the Presidium of the Municipal Committee of the LC. Further, Lutvia Catovic, the president of the assembly of the Titovo Uzice Intermunicipal Community, tendered his resignation.

That concluded the rally of the citizens of the Prijepolje Municipality, which was started by workers of the Ljubisa Miodragovic textile plant, who were joined by members of almost all collectives.

Grocka Leadership Resigns After Protest Rally

LD2501200289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1504 GMT 25 Jan 89

[Summary] Belgrade, 25 Jan (TANJUG)—The top officials of the Grocka municipality in Belgrade resigned today after several hundred workers from local firms staged a protest rally outside the municipal building, accusing the municipal officials of failing to establish accountability and to support the Serbian LC Central Committee.

Slogans at Titograd Protest Gathering Listed

AU1701211889 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 12 Jan p 5

[Unattributed report on slogans and banners at the protest gathering in Titograd on 10 January]

[Text] "God save us from troubles and from the inhuman people in authority"; "We, too, are in favor of changes, down with bureaucracy"; "Bureaucrats, act according to the will of the people"; "We shall persevere to the end"; "The judgment has been made, no appeal will postpone its execution"; "Unified Yugoslavia in overall work and life"; "Zuta Greda, Montenegro's sorrow"; "We are parting company and we are not sorry;" "Children are to be cared for jointly"; "Daddy, get work so that we, too, may eat"; "Think of the children and their future"; "Had you been good to your people, we would support you now"; "There has been enough talk, where are the deeds... we will drive them to look for jobs"; "Disobedient rather than capable"; "Long live Slobodan, Freedom, Montenegro, Serbia, and Yugoslavia"; "Come out of your armchairs so that it will be better for the people"; "We want the courageous and the decisive"; "You marked out our life and future, Comrade Tito"; "Had you listened to the people, you would not have disgraced yourselves"; "Brajovic, remember the metal workers"; "What Montenegro wants, the electrical engineering school wants, too"; "Trust the youth"; "No work until the government falls"; "Finish the reform"; "Ljubo Cupic—he died for freedom and gave the people its voice"; "Man does not take someone else's"; "A leadership which does not hear the voice of the people cannot lead it"; "Leadership, you are replaced, the people want it"; "Take them to work"; "We want resignations, we want resignations"; "Resignations, that is the least we are demanding"; "You betrayed yourselves, you betrayed the people"; "Cheers to the rest"; "Do you hear the dancers sing"; "We are proud we are part of this people"; "Changes are essential"; "We do not have a government and we do not know when we will have"; "Zarkovic, when are you going to slaughter sheep?"; "Vidoje out, Orlandic out"; "Take their passports away"; "You filled your stomachs of sin"; "The people are the parliament"; "Let us line up brother to brother to remove the yoke from our neck"; "Let us destroy the disease in the herd"; "We do not surrender Kosovo."

Well-known songs and those dedicated to Slobodan Milosevic were sung at the meeting.

Kosovo Nominatees New Presidency President

LD1901031089 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1737 GMT 18 Jan 89

[Text] Pristina, Jan 18 (TANJUG)—The Presidency of the party committee of the League of Communists of the Yugoslav Autonomous Province of Kosovo decided today to nominate Provincial Minister of the Interior Rahman Morina for the post of Presidency president.

The decision was taken after consultations with communal committees of the LC of Kosovo, the Central Committee Presidency of the LC of Serbia, of which Kosovo is part, and the Central Committee Presidency of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. Other candidates for the post included incumbent President of the provincial LC Presidency Remzi Kolgeciwn, President of the party organization of the Kosovo capital of Pristina Husamedin Azemi and provincial committee member Bajram Seljami.

The Kosovo Provincial Committee today also discussed proposals for new members of he committee and the Presidency who will be elected along with Presidency president at the committee's next session on January 27.

Last November, provincial committee Presidency President Kacusa Jasari and committee member Azem Vlasi were relieved of their posts. It was assessed at the time that they had not been energetic enough in fighting Albanian separatists in Kosovo, the least developed region in Yugoslavia hit by a wave of Albanian chauvinism and separatism.

The replacement was one of the causes of five-day demonstrations of Kosovo Albanians. The number of demonstrators at times rose to 100,000 people, demanding that plans be dropped for changes in the 1974 Yugoslav Constitution, which gave broad autonomny within Serbia to the provinces of Kosovo and Vojvodina.

Kosovo Provision on Flags Questioned

LD1901124689 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1422 GMT 18 Jan 89

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 18 Jan (TANJUG)—The Kosovo constitutional provision about 'national flags' is contrary to the Yugoslav Constitution, because a province is not authorirized to regulate the appearance of flags, the Yugoslav constitutional court stated today.

This does not bring into question whether members of a nationality have the right to a flag. The court merely clarified that within the Yugoslav constitutional system, only the state—that is, the Federation and the republics—has the right to determine the appearence of flags. Provinces, which are not states, do not have this right.

The formal vote about the established contradiction is postponed until the next session, because two judges of somewhat different opinion indicated that they could share the opinion of other judges after considering the content of a letter to be sent to the SFRY Assembly. [passage omitted]

The SFRY and republics' Constitutions do not contain the concept of a national flag, but describe flags exclusively as state symbols. Flags are symbols of all people living on the territory of the SFRY and on the territories of the republics; they contain characteristics of statehood, class, and revolutionary characteristics—five star—and national symbols—colors.

If there is no dispute about the political stance that members of a nationality have the right to 'their flag,' the issue is different when viewed from the legal standpoint, it was stressed. In 1984 the Yugoslav constitutional court warned the Yugoslav Assembly about the necessity for federal law to regulate the use of flags of nationalities. [passage omitted]

More on Association for Return of Kosovo Serbs

AU1901181989 Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 17 Jan 89 p 5

[N. Vlahovic report: "Another New Form of Activity"]

[Text] The Association of Citizens of Kosovo for the Return of Serbs and Montenegrins was inaugurated yesterday in Kosovo Polje. Its basic task, as a legal form of activity within the SAWP, is to exert influence to check the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins, to encourage emigrants to return, and to secure financial and material aid for these purposes. Two hundred and seventy delegates from throughout Kosovo attended the inaugural meeting of the association, which approved its statutus and elected a council for the association, which will act as a constituent part of the "Solidarity" association formed in Novi Sad. Zika Radojkovic and Milenko Markovic, members of the Serbian LC Central Committee political aktiv; Budislav Vujisic, secretary to the Presidium of the Kosovo SAWP Provincial Committee; Bozidar Lazic, president of the Pristina Communal Assembly; and members of the "Solidarity" association from Novi Sad and Arandjelovac took part in the inaugural meeting.

It was stressed that this association does not claim to be a partner of existing sociopolitical organizations, nor to be a special political party; its aim is to contribute, within the framework of the Kosovo SAWP, to implementing the conclusions on Kosovo, particularly in slowing emigration, encouraging people to return, and eliminating the causes which have led to emigration. All interested and well-intentioned persons, without regard to national or religious allegiance, can join this society in order to bring the Kosovo drama to an end as fast as possible. Dr Sreten Martinovic said in his opening speech that there is no obstacle to the work of the association, because it conducts its activity in accordance with the Constitution, the law, and the statutes of SAWP organizations.

In the name of its parent organization, "Solidarity" of Novi Sad, the delegates to the inaugural meeting were welcomed by Danilo Jerkovic, who said that about 600,000 citizens have now joined "Solidarity"; that considerable funds had been paid into its current account; and that "Solidarity" councils have been formed in Bosnia and Hercegovina, Croatia, and even in Slovenia. Various representatives of Novi Sad "Solidarity" also spoke, and pointed out that the associations should preserve the single title of "Solidarity," an association that knows no borders and has about 5 million members.

Joining the discussion, Budislav Vujisic underlined that the Kosovo SAWP Provincial Committee Presidium has observed that all forms of activity that help to stem emigration and encourage the return of Serbian and Montenegrin emigrants should be supported. Vujisic said that this association was expected to break out of the monotony and torpor of the various SAWP commissions and councils, which have almost entirely confined their activities to taking note of the problems.

The debate on the proposed draft statutes also included discussion on the situation in Kosovo and ways to solve the crisis. About 20 delegates spoke, and their predominant demands were for an urgent change in the Kosovo leadership, as has occurred in Vojvodina and Montenegro. The view was aired that the dissolution of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee and the provincial authorities is not only vital, but is the first step toward stabilizing the situation and starting the process of ideopolitical differentiation in the province. It was proposed that Bogdan Marlic, an American of Yugoslav origin, should be the first honorary member of Kosovo "Solidarity," and that Danilo Jerkovic, for having secured loudspeakers in Novi Sad on 9 July, should be made an honorary citizen of Pristina, and be awarded a medal for services to the people.

Kumanovo Demonstrator Gets 5-Year Prison Term

AU1801162789 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 9 Jan 89 p 16

[TANJUG report: "A Demonstrator Gets 5 Years"]

[Text] Kumanovo, 8 Jan—Alija Skender (26), a worker from the 11 Oktomvri work organization who took part in the hostile demonstrations supporting the positions of Albanian nationalism and separatism last August, was sentenced to 5 years' imprisonment by the Kumanovo Communal Court.

The court established that Alija Skender actively participated in the demonstrations in Kumanovo on 29 August last year, and that he prevented an official from performing his duties.

Bosnia-Hercegovina Names Presidency Candidates

LD1701020389 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2024 GMT 16 Jan 89

[Text] Sarajevo, 16 Jan (TANJUG)—At its session today, the Presidium of the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee proposed Milan Uzelac and Milan Skoro as possible candidates for member of the SFRY Presidency from Bosnia-Hercegovina.

In proposing these two candidates, the Presidum of Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee was guided by the view that their work so far, their capability and commitment to a Yugoslav course of reform, and their reputation gained for the principled and self-sacrificing way in which they have performed numerous singificant social duties and functions at the level of both the republic and the country confirm that Milan Uzelac and Milan Skoro deserve to be proposed as possible candidates for member of the SFRY Presidency from Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Today the Presidium also endorsed an initiative by the Bosnia-Hercegovina SAWP Republican Conference to again nominate and reelect Edina Residovic president of the Bosnia-Hercegovina SAWP Republican Conference.

Slovene Trade Unions Consider Leaving SAWP

AU1801155889 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 18 Jan 89

[Text] Slovene trade unions are in a great dilemma as to whether to continue to be a collective member of the SAWP or not. They will attempt to find an answer to this question when, in the framework of their own revival, they sort out their relations with the SAWP.

This was said to our correspondent Relje Atanasijevic today by Miha Ravnik, president of the Republican Council of Slovene Trade Unions.

U.S. Attorney Defends Diplomat Bijedic

AU1901172289 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 13 Jan 89 p 7

[Blazo Sarovic report: "A Staged Spectacle?"]

[Text] In the next month or month and a half, the "laundering of dirty money" affair, which began noisily, should receive an official court epilogue. We were told this by the American lawyer Michael Goody, who is representing Bahrudin Bijedic, the Yugoslav consul general in Chicago.

The lawyer Goody claims that the main reason for the delay in scheduling the hearing lies not in the actual need for the prosecutors to gather the necessary evidence—at least concerning his defendant—but in the lack of facts with which the arrest of our diplomatic representative and especially the spectacular nature of this act could be justified. Bijedic's defense attorney says that he has in his possession a written statement by Francis Hubert Cole, which was given under oath by the latter to the Philadelphia court. In the statement, Cole says that our consul had absolutely nothing to do with the "money laundering" affair, that everything was staged by the FBI, and that he participated in this.

Let us remind ourselves: Along with our emigrant Vjekoslav Spanjol, Hubert Cole is one of many who have been accused of involvement in the "money laundering" affair, which stemmed from criminal sources. Cole is still in prison, and the court has refused to talk about his release on bail. Goody pointed out that Bijedic was released without bail actually being paid, but at the first summons, which, according to him, indicates the attitude of the court toward the crime that has been attributed to Bijedic.

Michael Goody told us that in the statement Cole gave during the examining procedure in court, he denied that Consul Bijedic had any involvement in or direct connection with this affair. According to him, the whole affair was set up by a certain agent Maklosky, under whose influence he faked a letter with Bijedic's signature and gave it to Maklosky.

It is said that Cole used a letter signed by General Consul Bijedic for this, a letter in which he recommended Vjekoslav Spanjol to the Economic Chamber of Yugoslavia, as a businessman interested in investing in shipbuilding, or more specifically Rijeka shipbuilding. Using this letter and the system of disposable labels, which apparently can be bought in many specialized stores with a text specified by the purchaser for only 75 cents, Cole forged the contentious permit in order to satisfy the demand of agent Maklosky, who was otherwise already "on his back."

With this statement by one of the main witnesses, lawyer Michael Goody claims that "there is not a court in the world and especially not in the United States which could convict Bijedic of the crime of which he has been accused."

If his claims come true, then that would mean rehabilitation in court for Bijedic; however, it would simultaneously open up many questions requiring answers.

Kadijevic, Armed Forces Delegation Visit Italy

Depart 17 Jan

LD1701175689 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1607 GMT 17 Jan 89

[Text] Belgrade, January 17 (TANJUG)—A delegation of the Yugoslav Armed Forces, headed by Federal Secretary for National Defence General Veljko Kadijevic, left here today on a return visit to the Italian Armed Forces.

General Kadijevic and members of the delegation will tour some units and institutions of the Italian Armed Forces and discuss the promotion of inter-army and military-industrial cooperation between the two countries.

Begin Talks

LD1701204689 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1838 GMT 17 Jan 89

[Text] Rome, Jan 17 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Secretary for Defence General Veljko Kadijevic arrived on an official three-day visit to Rome today at the invitation of Italian Defence Minister Valerio Zanone.

This is the first visit by a Yugoslav defence secretary to Italy.

The military delegations of the two countries immediately started talks on East-West relations, the situation in the Mediterranean and bilateral relations.

FRG Against Introducing Visas for Yugoslavs

AU1701131389 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 10 Jan 89 p 3

[TANJUG report: "Budimir Loncar's Protest Letter"]

[Text] Bonn, 9 Jan—The FRG Ministry for Foreign Affairs today decided against the introduction of visas for Yugoslavs.

Confirming that the Ministry for Foreign Affairs had received a protest letter which Budimir Loncar, foreign secretary for foreign affairs, had sent to Hans-Dietrich Genscher at the end of last week, the spokesman of the FRG Ministry for Foreign Affairs spokesman explained the ministry's view to a TANJUG correspondent.

The press spokesman, who did not want to be named, said that the Ministry for Foreign Affairs was against the introduction of visas for Yugoslavs and that such stand was adopted in view of the "political consequences which such a decision would cause."

Stressing that the Ministry for Internal Affairs did not inform the Ministry for Foreign Affairs of its demand for the introduction of visas for Yugoslavs through regular channels, the spokesman said that this kind of measure cannont be introduced without the agreement of both ministries.

He also said that the EC is currently trying to harmonize immigration regulations, and that in this respect the "final word has not been said," but added that the harmonization of regulations does not have to mean "accepting the most restrictive possibilities."

National Industrial Production Falls

AU1801204089 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 9 Jan 89 p 1

[TANJUG report: "Fall in Social Product"]

[Text] For the first time since the war, a decrease in economic activity has been recorded in Yugoslavia for 2 years in a row. According to the assessments of the Federal Institute for Statistics, the social product of the country fell last year by about 2 percent, while in 1987 the negative rate amounted to 1.1 percent. For economists there is no clearer warning of a regression, because a society which today produces less than yesterday is certainly not on the road to achieving prosperity.

Industry, agriculture, and trade had the most important role in last year's unfavorable trends. These are key sectors which make up about three-quarters of the entire production of the country.

A shortfall in yield due to drought and the lagging behind of prices in relation to industry caused a fall of 3.3 percent in agriculture. It should be recalled that an increase of 4 percent was planned in the country's economic resolution.

Instead of the expected increase of around two percent, industrial production fell 1.2 percent.

In the assessment of the businessmen themselves, a decrease in motivation for work and impeded business activities in conditions of growing losses and insolvency, spiraling inflation, and expensive credit contributed the most to this. The worst results are in the nonmetal industry, machinery production, and the metal working industry.

Trade in real terms was reduced by 4 percent, primarily because of the ever increasing poverty of the population.

A modest increase in production was realized only in forestry (3 percent), transport (2 percent), and the hotel and catering industry (2 percent). Stagnation or a fall was recorded in all other sectors.

In one of the recent surveys by the Belgrade Institute for Market Research, businessmen estimated that there are conditions for the social product to rise in 1989 by about three percent. The prerequisite for this is the announced reform changes.

However, this is not the encouraging announcement it may seem at first sight, because such a result will only mean a return to the level that was reached in 1987.